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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF LIVIA PRIMITIVA.
In the Catacombs. (See pages 481-484.)

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KING TSING, THE AUTHOR OF THE NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

NO man of culture who takes an interest in the history of Christianity should fail to make himself acquainted with the Nestorian monument which is the greatest historical document produced by the Christian religion in Eastern Asia; and no student of Chinese ought to neglect to make it the basis of a thorough and untiring study. In making accessible to the general public a well printed text of the famous inscription accompanied by Alexander Wylie's excellent translation, the Open Court Publishing Company has merited the thanks not only of Chinese scholars but also of the public at large.[1] Their unpretentious and yet fruitful little book is well fitted to be placed as a text-book in the hands of university students or young missionaries who could select no better guide than this marvelous inscription to sharpen their sagacity in unravelling Chinese constructions and phrases and to familiarize them with the methods of Chinese philology.

It is not generally known that the Nestorian inscription is a literary production of the highest order, a perfect understanding of which requires the most extensive knowledge of ancient Chinese in all its various branches of style and literature. The following notes which do not lay claim to any originality of research may therefore be welcome to students.

The text of the Nestorian inscription is regarded by Chinese

[1] *The Nestorian Monument; an Ancient Record of Christianity in China*, Chicago, 1909. This pamphlet was published with special reference to the replica of the Nestorian monument recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York.

scholars as a composition of considerable literary merit, and remains up to the present day one of the finest examples of Chinese erudition and elegance in style. The emperor K'ang-hsi, decidedly a good judge on such matters, greatly appreciated the style of the monument, and the abundance of metaphors and literary allusions have ever endeared it to Chinese scholars since the days of its discovery in 1625. The author of the inscription was the first to be confronted with the difficult task of rendering Christian terms into Chinese, and was quite right in following a sanctioned Chinese usage of borrowing quotations from Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist writers. There is, accordingly, a double signification inherent in many terms used in the inscription, and a Chinese scholar of wide reading will experience the same sensation of enjoyment in perusing it as, e. g., a humanist of the sixteenth century in studying a theological treatise written in a gracefully flowing Ciceronian Latin. Father Henri Havret who has devoted a life of study to our inscription published the most profound investigation on this subject betraying a truly stupendous erudition.[2] He had a Chinese savant prepare a list of these borrowings, with the result that more than thirty phrases were found to be derived from the Book of Mutations (*Yih-king*), nearly as many from the Book of Songs (*Shih-king*), and about twenty from the Book of Annals (*Shu-king*). The so-called classical literature (*king*) furnishes altogether a total of about 150 allusions. The historians yield a tribute of over a hundred other terms, the philosophers about thirty, and the remainder is made up by various collections.

To quote a few examples: All divine attributes occurring in the inscription are derived from the *Tao-Tch king* of Lao-tse,—eternity, veracity, tranquility, priority of existence, intelligence, independence, profoundness, spirituality, mysterious causality of all beings; the term *San-i* (lit. Three-One) denoting the Trinity is met with in the historical Annals of Sze-ma Ts'ien and in the History of the Former Han Dynasty (*Ts'ien Han shu*) where it refers to the three unities Heaven, Earth, and Chaos to which the emperor offered a large sacrifice every third year. Curiously enough, the word *A-lo-ha* formed to signify the Hebrew word *Elohim* can be traced back to Buddhist sources which, as the Saddharmapundarikasutra, translated into Chinese early in the fifth century, employ this term as the equivalent of Sanskrit *Arhat*. Another much more common way

[2] *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, in 3 parts. Part I, (Shanghai, 1895) contains the text in facsimile reproduction; Part II (*ibid.*, 1897) gives the history of the monument (420 pp.) and Part III (*ibid.*, 1902) the translation with admirable commentary, unfortunately a fragment edited after his death.

of writing this word in Chinese is *Lo-han,* and the Chinese-Jewish inscriptions of K'ai-fung fu use this form for the transcription of the name Abraham.

The Nestorian inscription is, after all, not an exception in this respect, though exceptionally well and carefully written, for the Mohammedan and Jewish inscriptions of China are framed on the same principle and also teem with classical allusions and selections. It should be well understood that this process of language is not wholly identical with what has been practised all over the world when new religions were preached and a new terminology had to be coined for them; Nestorians, Mohammedans, and Jews were not satisfied merely to form the necessary words for their doctrines, but shot far beyond this mark in parading with verbose quotations from Chinese classics, and forcing them into a new meaning which the uninitiated could not always grasp at once. In this connection it may be interesting to refer to the Buddhist studies of the author of the Christian inscription.

The fact that the Nestorian missionary Adam, presbyter and chorepiscopos, and papas of China, called in Chinese *King Tsing,* which means "illustrious and pure," was interested in Buddhist literature and actually engaged in the translation of a Buddhist work from Uigur, a Turkish language, into Chinese, was first established by Dr. I. Takakusu, professor of Sanskrit and Pali at the University of Tokyo, in an article published in the Journal *T'oung Pao* (Vol. VII, 1897, pp. 589-591). In the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka, there is a book extant under the title *Chêng-yüan sin ting Shih kiao mu-lu,* i. e., Catalogue of Buddhist Books newly drawn up in the period *Chêng-yüan* (785-804 A. D.), compiled by Yüan-Chao, a priest of the *Si-ming* Monastery in Si-ngan fu. In this work, Takakusu discovered a passage relating to the Nestorian missionary, translated by him as follows:

"Prajña, a Buddhist of Kapiça in North India, traveled through Central India, Ceylon, and the islands of the Southern Sea (the Malayan Archipelago) and came to China, for he had heard that Mañjuçri was in China.[3]

"He arrived at Canton and came to the upper province (northern China) in 782 A. D. He met a relative of his in 786 who had arrived in China before him. Together with King Tsing (Adam), a Persian priest of the monastery of *Ta-Ts'in* (Syria), he translated

[3] This is apparently an allusion to the famous mountain Wu-t'ai-shan in Shansi Province, the temples on which are devoted to the cult of this Bodhisatva.

the Satparamitasutra[4] from a text in the *Hu* (Uigur) language, and completed the translation of seven volumes.

"At that time, however, Prajña was not familiar with the *Hu* language, nor did he understand the Chinese language; and King Tsing did not know Sanskrit, nor was he versed in the teachings of the Buddhists. Thus, though they pretended to be translating the text, yet they could not in fact obtain half of its gems (i. e., its real significance). They were seeking vain glory for themselves, regardless of the utility of their work for the public. They presented a memorial (to the emperor), expecting to get their work propagated. The emperor (Tai-Tsung, 780-804 A. D.) who was intelligent, wise, and accomplished, and who revered the canon of the Buddhists, examined what they had translated, and found that the principles contained in it were obscure and the wording diffuse.

"Moreover, since the Samghārāma (lit. the park of the clergy, i. e., monastery) of the Buddhists and the monastery of Ta-Ts'in (i. e., the Nestorians) differed much in their customs and their religious practices were entirely opposed to each other, *King Tsing* (Adam) ought to hand down the teaching of Messiah (*Mi-shih-ho*), and the Çramana, the sons of Çākya, should propagate the Sutra of the Buddha. It is desirable that the boundaries of the doctrines may be made distinct, and the followers may not intermingle. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are different things just as the rivers *King* and *Wei* have different courses."

It seems that the last clause is part of an imperial edict. The year is not given in which the translation alluded to was made, but as Prajña did not reach Si-ngan fu until 782, and as the Nestorian monument was erected in 781, it seems that this translation work took place after the time of the inscription. At all events, this striking passage throws light on Adam's literary inclinations and ambitions, and his interest in the study of Buddhist literature. It was most natural for him, as Takakusu justly remarks, to obtain a knowledge of Buddhism in order to learn the correct religious terms in which to express his ideas to the people.

The Chinese characters representing the word "Messiah" in the above document are phonetically the same as in the inscription except that the syllable *shih* is expressed by a different character, but one having the same sound. The Sutra translated by Adam and Prajña is preserved in the Buddhist canon but is attributed exclusively to the latter (in Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1004); the question as to whether the existing translation is identical with the

[4] Treatise of the Six Perfections (*pāramitā*).

one made by both has not yet been investigated. There is no doubt that an examination of this Sutra may shed some light on the phraseology of the inscription.

Father Havret,[5] when commenting on this passage, is doubtless right in considering the account of Yüan-Chao exaggerated. In opposition to Takakusu he prefers to conjecture that King Tsing took up this Indian moral treatise in the expectation of finding Christian doctrines attested therein. He might have believed that Buddhist books owed their first inspirations to Christianity with as much good faith as de Guignes later recognized a "false gospel" in the well-known Sutra of the Forty-Two Articles, the first Buddhist work translated into Chinese. The reproaches indirectly addressed to King Tsing by Yüan-Chao for having attempted to confound two doctrines, the one true, the other false, Havret is inclined to think, render this explanation sufficiently probable. The choice made by him for this venture was fortunate, for he could have made use of such moral categories as occur in the last part of the Sutra in question, for instance, charity, morality, patience, energy, contemplation, wisdom. However it may be about these conjectures, Havret concludes his argument, we must insist on the fact that King Tsing was fond of mental labors, and that his researches in Buddhist literature doubtless dating back much earlier had accustomed him to, and endeared to him, the terminology of this religion.

I concur with F. Havret in the supposition that the vast Chinese erudition embodied in the text of the monument cannot be the individual work of King Tsing alone, but that he availed himself of the assistance of a native scholar, and, even more likely, of several scholars. He must certainly be credited with having prepared the first draught of the document which he submitted to his staff of learned assistants together with suggestions and recommendations. Presumably the text has been revised and rewritten several times before receiving its final shape from the hands of the chief editor King Tsing who was surely justified in signing the article with his name, as expressly stated in the inscription that it is composed (*shu*) by him.

F. Havret most felicitously points out also the Buddhist influence in the very name of King Tsing. Just as the Buddhist monks after ordination abandoned their family names and surnames of worldly origin and chose a monastic name usually composed of two words, sometimes a translation or reminiscence of

[5] *Op. cit.* Part III, p. 6 (Shanghai, 1902).

some Indian name, so the presbyter Adam adopts the two words *king tsing* meaning "illustrious and pure," the word *king* being the appellation of his religion (*king kiao*). Other analogous Nestorian names appear in the inscription, as *King T'ung* and *King Fu.* Moreover, he assumes the prefix *sêng* before his name, a Chinese abbreviation of the Sanskrit word *samgha* denoting the Buddhist clergy and a Buddhist priest; as a matter of course, it serves to *King Tsing* merely as a translation of the Syriac word *qassisa,* "priest." Also in his designation as "the priest of the temple of Ta-Ts'in," the word *sze* for temple is derived from Buddhism, and the style of wording *Ta-Ts'in sze* for "Syrian church" is fashioned after Buddhist models.

IDOLS AND FETICHES.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

THE conditions of primitive life were such that men were more or less familiar with temporary suspensions and a later resumption of the activities of life. In the many wars and fights which took place men would be knocked on the head, or so wounded that unconsciousness would occur for a time, and later it would return, and the victim would revive. In fainting spells there would be a dormant period and a later revival, and daily in sleep there would be a period of quiet and unconsciousness followed by an awakening. By these and other occasional phenomena, such as fits, etc., primitive men would come to believe that the similar quiet of death might be followed by a more or less speedy awakening.

Even with all the accumulated experience of modern medicine it is none too easy, at times, to tell with certainty that death has actually taken place. Hence, with primitive man, as with many savages of recent times, the belief prevailed that death was only a temporary quiescence of the activities of the body. The spirit was believed to be still residing in the body, as it did in sleep, fainting spells, etc. Many savages have shown this belief by talking to the dead, imagining the spirit could hear them. Thus we are told that in Loango "a dead man's relatives questioned him for two or three hours why he died; and on the Gold Coast, 'the dead person is himself interrogated' as to the cause of his death."[1] Similar customs are found elsewhere.

Out of the belief that death was only a temporary suspension of activity would come the conviction that all the bodily desires were still retained. Thus it is said that "the Innuits visit the graves, talk to the dead, leave food, furs, etc., saying, 'Here, Nukerton, is something to eat, and something to keep you warm.'"[2] Out of at-

[1] Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 83.
[2] *Ibid.*

tempts to supply the desires of spirits, which have been world-wide, seem to have grown the customs of religious sacrifices, as I have elsewhere explained.[3]

If the spirit continued to reside in the body, the conviction would naturally arise that if the body was destroyed in any way the spirit would be homeless and would suffer. It would become a homeless and wandering ghost. And so men would try to preserve the bodies of friends in order to provide a home for the spirit as long as possible. The belief in a revival of bodily activity, similar to that which took place after sleep, probably gave rise to the wide-spread ancient belief in a resurrection, for the resurrection was merely an awakening of the corpse. When that took place, if the body is not ready for the spirit to inhabit again it was considered a great calamity. The religious conviction that the body must be saved for the spirit to again take up its abode is a belief inherited from savage ancestors, and in many cases has been a great hindrance to the introduction of cremation, which is the most sanitary method of disposing of the dead.

This necessity of retaining the body for the dwelling place of the spirit led to many efforts to preserve it, and various devices were tried. In some cases concealment was aimed at, as in the case of the New Zealand chiefs who were "secretly deposited by priests in sepulchers on hilltops, in forests or in caves." The Dakota, Iroquois and Mandan Indians placed bodies on raised scaffolds, on which Catlan said "their dead live," and where they were kept out of the way of wolves and dogs. Some South American tribes buried the bodies in chasms and caverns, and the Chibchas made a kind of cave for the purpose.[4] A further effort to preserve the body would result in an effort to prevent decay. Thus the Loango people in Africa smoke corpses for this purpose, and some of the Chibchas, in America, "dried the bodies of their dead in barbacoes on a slow fire."[5]

As intelligence increased, elaborate methods of preserving the dead would be invented which the more ignorant savage could not devise. With the advance of Egyptian civilization the art of embalming or mummifying the dead was carried to a high degree of perfection. But the whole development of this process was based on the belief that the body must be preserved to furnish a home for the spirit. Thus we are told that "a comparative study of sepulchral

[3] See art. on "Religious Sacrifices," in *The Open Court* for February, 1911.

[4] Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 87. Many other examples are there given.

[5] *Ibid.*, sec. 88.

texts" has "furnished Egyptologists with convincing proof that the inviolate preservation of the body was deemed essential to the corporeal resurrection of the 'justified' dead. . . . Between death on earth and life everlasting there intervened, however, a period varying from 3000 to 10,000 years, during which the intelligence wandered, luminous, through space, while the soul performed a painful probationary pilgrimage through the mysterious under-world. The body, in order that it should await intact the return of the soul whose habitation it was, must meanwhile be guarded from corruption and every danger. Hence, and hence only, the extraordinary measures taken to insure the preservation of the corpse and the inviolability of the sepulcher; hence the huge pyramid, the secret pit, and the mysterious labyrinth. The shadowy and impalpable *ka*—the mere aspect, be it remembered, of the man— was supposed to dwell in the tomb with the mummified body."[6]

"It was formerly supposed that the bodies of the dead were merely dessicated under the ancient empire, and that actual embalming was not practiced before 2000 B. C. Recent excavations compel us to ascribe a very early date (possibly 3800 or 4000 B. C.) to the beginnings of the art."[7] The process of mummification varied in different parts of Egypt, and at different periods.

In ancient Peru a similar belief led to a similar custom. Thus it is stated that "faith in the immortality of the soul was one of the fundamental ideas among the Peruvian nations." They believed that "after a certain time, not exactly determined, they [the spirits] should return to their bodies, beginning a new terrestrial life, continuing the same occupations, and making use of the same objects which they had left at the time of their death. This belief induced them to preserve the body with great care."[8] So also Prescott says of the Peruvians that "it was this belief in the resurrection of the body which led them to preserve the body with so much care."[9] In Peru, as well as in Egypt, the art of mummifying the dead was highly developed.

Believing the spirit to reside in the corpse attempts were made to supply its wants, and these have been described by many writers. Thus it is said that in Egypt "Diodorus and the papyri show that it was not an uncommon thing to keep the mummies in the house after they had been returned by the embalmers to the relatives of

[6] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* art. "Mummy."

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Rivero, *Peruvian Antiquities,* pp. 152, 153.

[9] Prescott, *Conquest of Peru,* Vol. I, p. 92.

the deceased, in order to gratify the feelings which made them desirous of having those they had loved in life as near them as possible after death. Damascenius states that they sometimes introduced them at table, as though they could enjoy their society." Lucian says that he was "an eye witness to this custom."[10]

When the time came for the burial the funeral procession advanced to the catacombs, where "the mummy, being taken out of the sarcophagus, was placed erect in the chamber of the tomb; and the sister or the nearest relative embraced it, commencing a funeral dirge, calling on her relative with every expression of tenderness, extolling his virtues, and bewailing her own loss. In the mean time the high priest presented a sacrifice of incense and libation, with offerings of cakes and other customary gifts for the deceased."[11] The cakes, etc., were intended to feed the spirit and supply its other wants.

"When the mummies remained in the house, or the chamber of the sepulcher, they were kept in movable wooden chests with folding doors, out of which they were taken....to a small altar, before which the priest officiated....On these occasions....they [the priests] made the usual offerings of incense and libations, with cakes, flowers and fruit; and even anointed the mummy, oil or ointment being poured over its head."[12] At times friends embraced the mummified body and "bathed its feet with their tears."[13]

The attempts of the Egyptians to supply the wants of the spirits believed to reside in the bodies of the dead, correspond to similar customs found in other nations. Thus it is said that their "funeral oblations answer exactly to the *inferiae* and *parentalia* of the Romans, consisting of victims, flowers, and libations, when the tomb was decorated with garlands and wreaths of flowers, and an altar was erected before it for presenting the offerings. And that this last was done also by the Egyptians, is proved by the many small altars discovered outside the door of the catacombs at Thebes."[14] On these altars sacrifices were placed, to supply the desires of the spirits.

We have already seen that in ancient Peru bodies of the dead were also mummified and preserved. It is said that "the goodwill of the dead was in Peru thought to be necessary to the prosperity of

[10] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, p. 432.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 370.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 360.

[13] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 428.

[14] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

the living. Hence they had a part in all the affairs of life; they were consulted like the gods on important occasions, and brought out [i. e., the mummified body in which the spirit was believed to dwell] to share in feasts, whether secular or sacred. Arranged in order according to their seniority, each mummy was duly served with a portion of food, which was burnt before it; chicha was poured into its lips from its own drinking vessel,"[15] being thus intended to reach the indwelling spirit.

Again it is said that on sacred festivals the Peruvians "brought out the bodies of the dead lords and ladies which were embalmed, each one being brought out by the person of the same lineage who had charge of it. During the night these bodies [mummies] were washed in the baths which belonged to them when alive. They were then brought back to their houses and warmed [fed] with the same coarse pudding called *cancu*, and the food they had been most fond of when they were alive."[16] Young knights addressed their embalmed ancestors, "beseeching them to make their descendants as fortunate and brave as they had been themselves."[17]

Another writer says that in Peru "individual or household gods were innumerable; each house and individual possessed its characteristic and tutelar divinity. Among the former, and deserving of special mention, were the so-called *Mallquis*, or *manaos*, which were the entire bodies of the ancestors reduced to a mummy or skeleton state, which the descendants piously preserved in the *machayo* or tomb, arranged in such a manner that they might easily see them and offer them sacrifices; at the same time they gave them food and drink, for they interred with them vessels and dishes which they filled from time to time with food,"[18] i. e., for the spirit to consume. The spirits, dwelling in the mummies, were deified and worshiped as gods.

In other places, as "in Virginia, in some parts of South America, on the Madeira Islands, the original population dried the corpse over a slow fire into a condition to resist decay; while elsewhere the nitrous soil of caves offered a natural means of embalming. The Alaskan and Peruvian mummies, like those of ancient Egypt, were artificially prepared, and swathed in numerous cerecloths." But everywhere "the same faith in the literal resurrection of the flesh was the prevailing motive" for preserving the

[15] Payne, *New World*, Vol. I, p. 600.

[16] Markham, *Yncas*, p. 25.

[17] Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 83.

[18] Rivero, *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 170.

body, for it was believed that it "must be preserved in order that it might be again habitable for the soul, when this etherial essence should return to earth from its celestial wanderings."[19]

Usually no definite time was given when the resurrection would take place, but in Egypt during the dynasties the date was postponed to a time from 3000 to 10,000 years in the future, as above stated.

A good example of the way in which skeletons were worshiped, where the body was not mummified but the skeleton was preserved, comes to us from Africa. The skeletons of the former kings of Ashanti were preserved at Bantama, and to those remains sacrifices were made. On February 5 the king went to "where the remains of his deceased predecessors were preserved in a long building, approached by a gallery and partitioned into small cells, the entrances of which were hung with silken curtains. In these apartments reposed the skeletons of the kings, fastened together with wire, and placed in richly ornamented coffins, each being surrounded with what had given him most pleasure in life. On this occasion every skeleton was placed on a chair in his cell to receive the royal visitor, who, on entering offered it food, after which a band played the favorite melodies of the departed." Then a human victim was killed, and the skeleton was washed with his blood. "Thus was each cell visited in turn, sacrifice after sacrifice being offered, till evening closed ere the dreadful round was" completed.[20]

The ancient Egyptians, "holding the belief that the statue of a human being represented and embodied a human *ka*, concluded that the statues of the gods represented and embodied divine *kas*."[21] Here the belief seems to have developed that gods as well as ghosts could enter and dwell in statues or images, and this belief was common among primitive people. Again it is said that in Egypt "the statue of the deceased in which the double [spirit] dwelt took pleasure in all the various scenes which are painted or sculptured on the walls of the tombs,"[22] i. e., it was believed that the spirit residing in the mummy or statue could look on and enjoy the activities going on around it.

So important was it to preserve the body that "no more formidable punishment to the [ancient] Egyptian was possible than destroying his corpse, its preservation being the condition of im-

[19] Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 211.

[20] Ramseyer and Kuhne, *Four Years in Ashanti*, p. 117.

[21] Wiedemann, *Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p. 21.

[22] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 218.

mortality."[23] It is said that in ancient Assyria "the mutilation of the dead body was also a terrible punishment to the dead, and we are told that the person who disturbed a grave is not to be permitted to enter the temple. The desecration of the grave affected not only the individual [spirit] whose rest was disturbed, and who, in consequence, suffered the pangs of hunger and other miseries, but reached the survivers as well. The unburied or disembodied shade assumed the form of a demon, and afflicted the living.... The kings punished their enemies by leaving their bodies to rot in the sun, or they exposed them on poles as a warning to rebels." Assurbanipal "takes pleasure in relating that he destroyed the graves of the Elamitic kings, and dragged their bodies from their resting place to Assyria. Their shades, he adds, were thus unprotected. No food could be tendered them, no sacrifices offered in their honor."[24] A similar belief has been found elsewhere, as among the Greeks and Romans who believed that the spirits of the unburied dead would pursue and take vengeance on the living because no sacrifices could be offered them, and so the ghosts would suffer hunger.

Primitive man knew nothing about psychology or the laws of mental action. To him the events which appeared to take place in dreams seemed as real as those which actually took place when he was awake. Thus it is stated that by the New Zealanders "in sleep the soul was supposed to quit the body and wander about, holding converse with its friends, and returning again to its body; dreams were regarded as realities."[25] "The dreams which come to the Indian are to him, though not to us, as real as any of the events of his waking life. To him dream acts and waking acts differ only in one respect—namely that the former are done only by the spirit, the latter are done by the spirit and body."[26] "The Dyaks regard dreams as actual occurrences. They think that in sleep the soul sometimes remains in the body, and sometimes leaves it and travels far away, and that both when in and out of the body it sees, and hears, and talks....Fainting fits, or states of coma, are thought to be caused by the departure or absence of the soul on some distant expedition of its own."[27] Thus when the savage dreamed that he engaged in the hunt, he believed that, during sleep, the spirit left

[23] Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 87.

[24] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 601, 602.

[25] R. Taylor, *New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, p. 104.

[26] Im Thum, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 344.

[27] St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, p. 199.

the body, engaged in the chase, and returned to the body again before it awoke. As every other event dreamed about as happening in a distant place was accounted for in the same way, the belief was common that spirits readily and frequently left and returned to the body.[28]

When through dreams and other natural phenomena the belief had developed that spirits could leave the body and return to it during life, the belief would naturally arise that after death the spirit could similarly leave and return to the corpse, in which it was thought to reside. Thus the Iroquois Indians left holes in both coffins and graves, to allow the spirits to pass in and out,[29] and a similar belief has been found elsewhere. Thus spirits of the dead would be regarded as wandering around, and then returning to the bodies in which they dwelt.

In time the belief became common that spirits flitted everywhere and entered various objects. Evil or angry spirits were believed to enter the bodies of other men, and it has been a world-wide belief that insanity, epilepsy, and all the other diseases to which human flesh is heir, were caused by spirits thus entering the body and making trouble. Thus we are told that in New Zealand it is the native belief that "each ailment is caused by a spirit....which, sent into the patient's body, gnaws and feeds inside." In fact, "the savage theory of demoniacal possession and obsession....has been for ages, and still remains, the dominant theory of disease....among the lower races."[30] Even with a nation as advanced as the Chinese this is the theory entertained at the present time.[31] It was the belief in ancient Egypt, in Babylonia, in Greece, and generally in antiquity. Where this belief was entertained the whole science of medicine consisted of attempts to drive out the intruding spirits. By that method it was thought that any disease could be cured.

When the belief had arisen that spirits could enter and dwell in various objects, attempts were made in different parts of the world to provide artificial bodies, or homes for them to reside in.

[28] In the brief space allotted to this article I cannot enter at length into the effect on the primitive mind of dreams, shadows, reflections in the water, echoes, etc. Those interested can consult the works of Spencer, Tylor, and other anthropologists. It was probably largely through dreams, shadows and reflections in the water, that the belief was developed in the minds of men that the spirit could leave the body and return to it—but dreams were probably one of the strongest reasons. I refer principally to them here, but presume that most of my readers are conversant with the others.

[29] Morgan, *Iroquois*, p. 176.

[30] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 124, 127. For many other examples see pp. 124-130.

[31] De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, p. 36.

These became idols, and the indwelling spirits gods, and men worshiped and offered sacrifices to them. A few examples may be given. Whatever care was taken to preserve a body or mummy, there was always a possibility that it might be destroyed. It is stated that in ancient Egypt it was the belief that if the mummy was destroyed or damaged the *ka* was liable to meet disaster. "In view of this danger, the Egyptians, by stocking his sepulcher with portrait statues, sought to provide the *ka* with other chances of continuance, these statues being designed, in a strictly literal sense, to serve as supports or dummies for the *ka*."[32] That is, a number of statues, resembling the body, were provided in the hope that if the body or even several statues should be destroyed, one might survive to serve as a home for the spirit to enter, and they were "always secreted in hidden chambers." As many as "twenty duplicates have been found in a single tomb."

When cremation had been introduced, a substitute body was sometimes made from the ashes of the dead, or to hold them, thus retaining parts of the original body. Thus it is said that the Mayas of Yucatan "made wooden statues of their dead parents and left a hollow in the neck where they put their ashes and kept them among their idols." They also made "hollow clay images, or hollow statues of wood, in which they placed the ashes of the burned bodies of their monarchs. They offered food to these images [idols] at their festivals." "The Mexicans preserved the ashes, hair and teeth of the dead, and put them in little boxes, above which was placed a wooden figure, shaped and adorned like the deceased." In other instances the ashes of the dead were placed in sepulchral vases, or urns, on which a representation of the deceased was painted, and these were worshiped. "The worship of urns used in urn-burial has, of course, resulted from the association of the urn with the person deposited in it. The same is true of the idols which were made to hold the ashes of the dead. The worship is not at first directed toward the material part of the urn or idol, or even the representation it may have upon it of the deceased, but it is directed toward the *spirit supposed to reside there*."[33]

Elsewhere, in Siam for instance and in Tartary, "people collect the ashes of the burnt corpses and make of them a paste to model into small Buddhist images, or into disks, which they afterwards put on the top of a pyramid. The corpse, thus transformed,

[32] *Encyclopædia Britannica,* art. "Mummy."

[33] Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions,* pp. 119-122. Other examples are given in that work.

becomes the lares and penates, and they are carefully kept, evidently as the supposed dwelling place of the shade of the departed."[34] A somewhat similar custom has been common, but it is needless to give more examples.

Bancroft says that "in Goazacoalco it was the custom to place the bones [of the dead] in a basket, as soon as the flesh was gone, and hang them up in a tree, so that the spirit of the defunct might have no difficulty in finding them"[35] when it needed them.

While it was the ancient belief that the spirit continued to dwell in the corpse, and also in preserved parts of the body, as in a figure made out of the ashes of the body or in the preserved skeleton, the belief would naturally arise that other objects could serve as a residence for the ghost. We have already seen that in some cases a hole was left in a grave, through which it was thought the spirit could pass in and out, and in some places a grave-stone, or post, was roughly hewn into a human shape, into which a spirit could enter. Thus Mr. McCoy says that "among the Ottawas [Indians] we often discovered at the heads of their graves a post somewhat proportioned to the size of the deceased. When any one visited the grave they rapped on the post with a stick, to announce their arrival to the spirit. On the upper end of this post was cut a slight resemblance to the human face. The Indians not far from Quebec, while the Jesuit priests were among them, whenever any one died, cut his portrait and put it on the grave, 'anointing and greasing that man of wood as if living,' says Father Lalamant. Among the Algonkins a post was generally placed on the grave of the dead, and their portraits carved thereon."[36] Somewhat similar customs were practiced in Alaska, in Chili, in the West Indies, in Nicaragua, and in other parts of America. Spirits from the graves below were supposed to enter these posts.

Many customs have been found which had a large element of pathos in them. Thus it is said that "when a child dies among the Ojibways, they cut some of its hair and make a little doll, which they call the doll of sorrow. This lifeless object takes the place of the deceased child." The mother "carries it with her wherever she goes" for a year. "They think the child's spirit has entered this bundle, and can be helped by the mother. Presents and sacrificial gifts are made to it. Toys and useful implements are

[34] Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 242.

[35] *Native Races*, Vol. II, p. 619.

[36] Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 117-120.

tied to the doll for its use."[37] A similar custom was found among "the savages of the Canadas." It is said that on the banks of the Niger in Africa "the maternal affection is so strong that after the death of their children the mothers will carry upon their heads small wooden images in commemoration of their little dead ones, and they will not allow these emblems to be taken from them. They seem to consider them as living images, and before eating themselves they always offer food to these little wooden children."[38] In other parts of Africa we are told that if a woman has twins, and either dies, an image about a foot long is made, "carved in such a manner as to represent the human anatomy." The woman regards such images as her "living children; she worships them every morning by splitting kolo nuts [i. e., for them to eat] and throwing down a few drops of palm oil before them."[39]

Of the Ostyaks it is said that they "make a rude wooden image representing, and in honor of, the deceased, which is set up in the yost and receives divine honors for a greater or less time as the priest directs....At every meal they set an offering of food before the image; and should this represent a deceased husband, the widow embraces it from time to time....This kind of worship of the deceased lasts about three years, at the end of which time the image is buried."[40] It was the evident belief that the ghost dwelt in the image, and it was worshiped.

The statement is repeatedly made that savages worshiped a spirit believed to dwell in their idols, and not the images themselves. For example in New Zealand "the natives declare they did not worship the image itself, but only the Atua [i. e., spirit] it represented."[41] In Africa an idol "is believed for the time to be the residence of a spirit, which is to be placated by offerings....of food."[42] In the Polynesian islands, "where the meaning of the native idolatry has been carefully examined, it has been found to rest on the most absolute theory of spirit-embodiment....At certain seasons, or in answer to the prayers of the priests, these spiritual beings entered into the idols, which then became very powerful, but when the spirit departed the idol remained only a sacred object." So also the New Zealanders "set up memorial idols of deceased persons near the burial place, talking affectionately to them as if

[37] Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 116.
[38] Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 151.
[39] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 208.
[40] Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 158.
[41] R. Taylor, *New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, p. 72.
[42] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 92.

alive, and casting garments to them when they passed by, and preserve in their houses small carved wooden images, each dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor. It is distinctly held that such an *atua,* or ancestral deity, enters into the substance of an image in order to hold converse with the living. A priest can by repeating charms cause the spirit to enter into the idol, which he will even jerk by a string around its neck to arrest its attention,.....it is quite understood that the images themselves are not objects of worship, nor do they possess in themselves any virtue, but derive their sacredness from being the temporary abodes of spirits. In the Society Islands, it was observed in Captain Cook's exploration that the carved wooden images at burial places were not considered mere memorials but abodes into which the souls of the departed entered."[43]

In ancient Rome men who went to the temples to pray "used to treat with the officiating ministers to be placed as near as possible to the ear of the idol, so that they might be better heard,"[44] i. e., by the spirit inside. In the Sandwich Islands after a death in a family the survivors worship an "image with which they imagine the spirit is in some way connected."[45] In ancient Peru when a chief died, "a statue of gold was made in the likeness of the chief, which was served as if it had been alive, and certain villages were set apart to provide it with clothing and other necessaries,"[46] i. e., to provide articles to sacrifice to the resident ghost.

Numerous statements are found which show that efforts to feed the indwelling spirits were made by rubbing blood or food on the lips, or placing it before the mouth of the idol. Thus Marco Polo says that he found that the Tartars had household idols, and "they never ate before first rubbing the mouths of these protecting divinities with the fat of their meat." In the island of Nian, when attempting to banish evil spirits, a pig was killed, and "the mouth of the idol was smeared with the bloody heart of the pig, and a dishful of the cooked pork is set before him."[47] Of the Mayas in America it is said that they "never went out to hunt without first invoking their gods [in idols] and burning incense before them; and on their return from a successful hunt they always anointed the grim visages of the idols with the blood of the game."[48] Of the Ostyaks we are

[43] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 174, 175.

[44] Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 313.

[45] Spencer, *Sociology*, I, sec. 158.

[46] *Ibid.*, sec. 156.

[47] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, p. 65

[48] Bancroft, *Native Races*, II, p. 691.

told that they would "pour daily broth into the dish at the image's mouth," and the Aztecs "would pour the blood and put the heart of the slaughtered human victim into the monstrous idol's mouth," and in "each case the deity was somehow considered to devour the meal,"[49] i. e., the deity that dwelt in the idol.

In China at the present time "tablets" are used in worship, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and such tablets have probably been in use there for several thousand years. They have been thus described: "Wooden tablets are employed as resting places for the spirits, both in the state worship of China and the ancestral. These are small rectangular pieces of wood, at least as high again as they are wide, set up in front of the worshiper, and having written upon them the characters, *shăn wei*, 'seat of the spirit,' or *ling wei*, 'seat of the soul,' or *shăn chû*, 'lodging-place of the spirit,' with perhaps the surname, name and office of the departed in the ancestral worship. While the worship is performed, the tablet is supposed to be occupied by the spirit specially entertained in the service; and at the conclusion the spirit returns to its own place, and the tablet is laid aside in its repository, till required for use again, being in the interval no more spirit possessed than any other piece of wood....The tablet is not regarded as in itself either supernatural or sacred; and it has operated to prevent the rise of idolatry in the Confucian religion of China."[50]

Such tablets are common in China, and we are told that "the truth is that the dead of a family actually are its patron divinities, worshiped and sacrificed to like all other gods, with quite similar incense, spirits, food, and dainties, quite similar genuflexions and *khotaos*, all with the plain object of obtaining their blessings. The truth is, also, that ancestral worship answers exactly to idolatry and fetichism, it being addressed to tablets deemed just as well as images of gods, to be inhabited by the souls of those whom they represent."[51] It is probable that these tablets were developed from grave-posts or slabs. Thus it is said that at the tomb of an emperor there "stands the polished marble tombstone which bears the name of the emperor, engraved in the stone: this is in fact his soul tablet, a seat of his manes."[52] The dynasty has ancestor temples, and "each ancestor or ancestress is represented in these buildings by a soul tablet."[53]

[49] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 380.

[50] Legge, *The Religion of China*, pp. 20-22.

[51] De Groot, *Religion of the Chinese*, p. 84.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The method of using these tablets and conducting the worship has been thus described: "Many a well-to-do family possesses its ancestor temple, where the soul tablets of its oldest generations are preserved, and where sacrifices are offered to them.... Here stands a huge table which has on it the tablets of parents, grandparents, and even of still older generations, not yet removed to the temple, side by side with images of other domestic gods which are not ancestors. The well-to-do there have shrines for these tablets and idols. A table in front of the altar serves for the offerings which are presented by the family on various fixed days in the calendar, with the father or grandfather at their head.... There are, then, for every man or woman in China, three altars for the exercise of ancestor worship: one at home, one at the grave, one in the temple of the clan."[54]

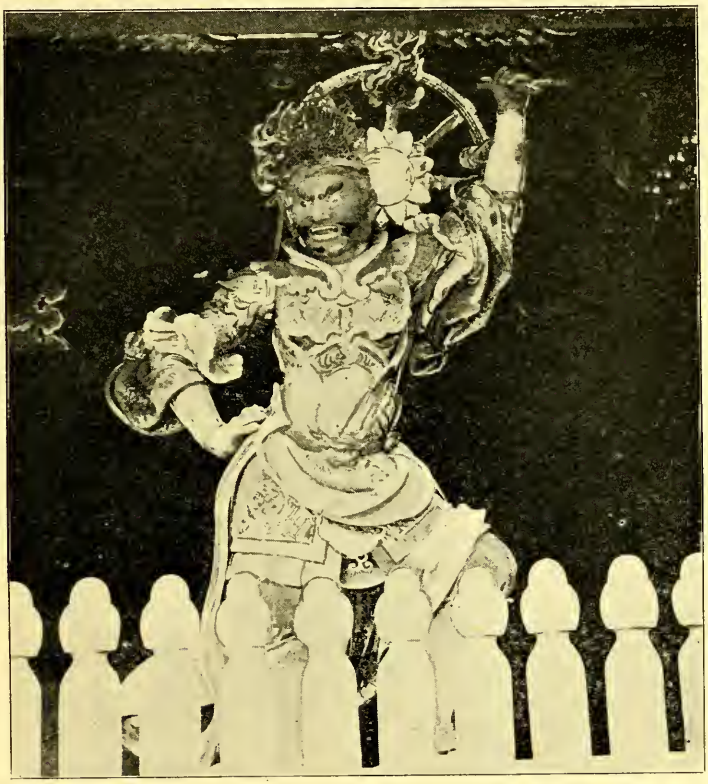
During the period of the Chau dynasty [i. e., the twelfth to the sixth century B. C.] a substitute for the tablets was tried. "The wooden tablet was discarded, and the departed ancestors were represented at the service by living relatives of the same surname, chosen according to certain rules. These took for the time the place of the dead, received the honors which were done to them, and were supposed to be possessed by their spirits. They ate and drank as those they impersonated would have done; accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants, communicated their will to the principal worshiper, and pronounced on him and on his line their benediction, being assisted in this point by a mediating officer of prayer. This strange practice of using living relatives at the ancestral worship, instead of the wooden tablets, passed away with the dynasty in which it prevailed."[55]

Regular idols, however, as well as "tablets" are in common use in China, as the following account by an observer indicates: "The images of gods exist by tens of thousands, the temples by thousands. Almost every temple has idol gods which are in coordinate or subordinate rank to the chief god, or even regarded as its attendant servants. They are placed on the high altar, on side altars, or in side chapels.... Large idols are for the most part of wood and clay; the small ones are often of copper, bronze or porcelain. Icons painted on paper are worshiped in great numbers.... Also for the mountains, rocks, stones, streams, brooks, which the people worship, images are fashioned to be the homes of their souls, and temples are erected to them.... In short, every possible represen-

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.

[55] Legge, *The Religion of China*, pp. 76, 77.

tation of a god is considered to be the abiding place of his soul, and therefore identical with the god himself."[56] In fact, so common are the idols that we find the statement that "myriads of images thus stud the Chinese soil, characterizing it as the principal idolatrous country of the world."[57]



THE DEMON OF LIGHTNING.
A Japanese Temple Statue.

We find in Japan quite a similar custom and belief. Thus we are told that "in many private dwellings there is a *kami-dana* [god-shelf] where a *harahi*, consisting of a piece of wood from the Ise shrine, and tickets with the names of any gods whom the household has any special reason for worshiping, are kept. Lafcadio Hearn says that nowadays there is also a *Mitamaya* (august-spirit-dwell-

[56] De Groot, *Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 123, 124.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

ing) which is a model Shinto shrine placed on a shelf fixed against the wall of some inner chamber. In this shrine are placed thin tablets of white wood, inscribed with the names of the household dead. Prayers are repeated and offerings made before them every day. The annual festivals (*matsuri*) of the Ujigami, or local patron-deity, are everywhere important functions. Offerings are made, and the god, or rather his emblem, is promenaded in a procession."[58] Shinto appears to be the oldest religion in Japan, and in this worship they have *Gohei,* wands to which scallops of paper are attached, and these "are to be seen at every shrine and at every Shinto ceremony. Sometimes the god is supposed to come down and take up his temporary abode in the *Gohei.*"[59] In Japan there appear to have been family and tribal or clan gods surviving from early times, and also national gods, similar to those found in other parts of the world, with tablets and idols in which they were supposed to dwell.

Thus it appears that the Japanese as well as the Chinese have for centuries used both tablets and idols. But in both nations the worship was essentially the same. A spirit was believed to enter some object (idol, tablet, *gohei*), and before these they prayed, beseeching the aid of the spirits, and offering to them sacrifices of various kinds intended to supply their desires, mollify their anger, and win their good will and assistance. The worship of these spirits appears to have been for ages, and is yet, the central and dominating feature of the religion of these nations. Out of this worship developed their religious customs, ceremonies and doctrines.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[58] Aston, *Shinto*, 73-74.

[59] Ibid., p. 60.

THE CATACOMBS.

BY THE EDITOR.

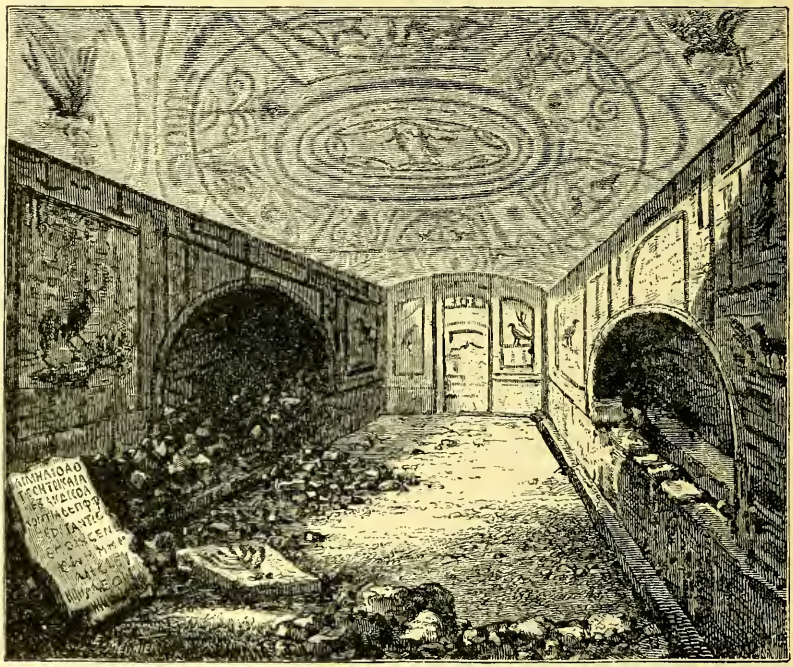
THE insight into the life of the early Christian church which we gain through patristic literature, is well illustrated by the tomb inscriptions and paintings of the Roman and other catacombs. The symbols which we see there and the short epitaphs are simple and sometimes crude; but knowing the faith they represented, we find them impressive witnesses of a most important period in the history of mankind.

Catacombs are subterranean cemeteries, and the ones usually associated with the term are those in the immediate neighborhood of Rome built during the first four centuries of our era. These subterranean burial places are labyrinths of narrow tunnels, scarcely more than three or four feet wide, dug in the soft tufa stone without any regularity, and considering the darkness underground it is not advisable to venture into them except with a guide well familiar with their topography. The gloom is increased by the funereal atmosphere, and it would be positively dangerous to life to breathe the air for any length of time. Other catacombs have been discovered in Naples, Cyrene, Sicily, Melos, San Jenaro dei Poveri, and other places in lower Italy, also in Alexandria and Paris.

In the days of the early Roman republic the bodies of the dead were buried, while later on it became the custom to cremate them; but because of the Christians' belief in the resurrection of the body, they revived the ancient custom of burial. Thus it happens that the character of the catacombs is mainly Christian although they contain also quite a number of pagan tombs. In addition, however, there is an extensive Jewish cemetery near the Via Appia. Some tombs have been used twice, and their slabs, called opisthographs, show in most cases a pagan inscription inside and a Christian epitaph outside, which suggests the theory that pagans started this mode of burial and the Christians continued it until finally paganism

disappeared. The earliest Christian tombs which can be dated with certainty belong to the second century.

The commonest and simplest graves are called *loculi* or "places." The larger ones leaving a space above the dead body are "table tombs," and those with an arched top are *arcosolia.* The tunnels lead sometimes to rooms in which several graves are cut into the walls. They are mostly family sepulchers, and are called crypts or *cubicula.*



THE JEWISH CATACOMBS.
Roller, *Les catacombes de Rome,* IV, No. 2.

In ancient times the catacombs were called cemeteries (*coemeteria*) but it happened that the first one of these burying grounds that became generally known was called the "cemetery near the catacumbs" (*Coemeterium ad catacumbas*)[1] or simply "catacumbs" which later on changed to "catacombs," and this name was gradually adopted for all burial places of the same type.

The most ancient report about the catacombs which is still ex-

[1] Derived from κατακύμβαι. It seems that this was the name of the locality around the third milestone of the Via Appia.

tant was written by St. Jerome who visited them when a boy in the year 354. St. Jerome says:

A BURIAL IN THE CATACOMBS.
By H. Le Roux.

"When I was a boy receiving my education in Rome, I and my schoolfellows used, on Sundays, to make the circuit of the se-

pulchers of the apostles and martyrs. Many a time did we go down into the catacombs. These are excavated deep in the earth, and contain, on either hand as you enter, the bodies of the dead buried in the wall. It is all so dark there that the language of the prophet (Ps. lv. 15) seems to be fulfilled, 'Let them go down quick into hell.' Only occasionally is light let in to mitigate the horror of the gloom, and then not so much through a window as through a hole. You take each step with caution, as, surrounded by deep night, you recall the words of Virgil:

'Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.'
[Horror here everywhere frightens our souls; so does the dead silence.]"

In Jerome's time burial in the catacombs began to be discontinued and henceforth they came to be considered as tombs of the martyrs and thus became objects of reverence. With this thought in mind, Pope Damascus (366-384 A. D.) had the inscriptions renovated and the pictures improved by an artist Philocalus, a policy which was continued by several other popes.

Philocalus improved the artistic style, but he and his successors have done much harm to the historic value of these monuments.

The catacombs are referred to by Prudentius in his poem on the martyr Hippolytus, and further mention is made of them in itineraries of the seventh century. During the eighth century the tombs became gradually despoiled of their most valuable treasures, especially the sarcophagi, and the bodies of those who were assumed to be martyrs and saints. Pope Paul at the end of the eighth century started this work, and his example was followed by his successors until the catacombs had ceased to be an attraction for pilgrims. Most of the entrances became closed by sand and dust with the exception of the catacomb of St. Sebastian which remained accessible all the time.

The oldest of the Roman catacombs was that of Domitilla, a princess of the imperial house, near the Via Ardeatina. Others are the crypt of Saints Petrus and Marcellinus near the Via Labicana, the catacomb of St. Priscilla near the Via Salara, and those most frequented by visitors situated near the Via Appia, probably belonging to the third century, called the cemeteries of St. Calixtus and St. Cecilia and the Crypt of the Popes. We here reproduce a picture of the crypt of Pope Cornelius near the Via Labicana.

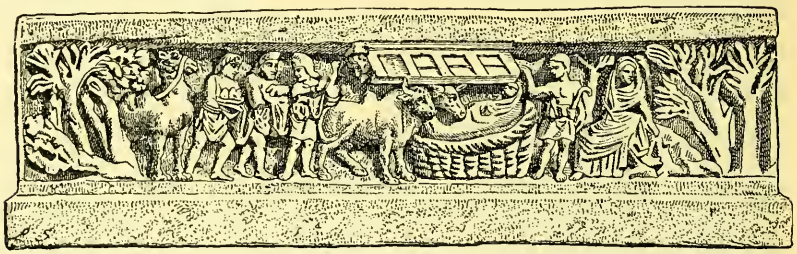
A volume might be written on the history of the investigation of the catacombs. We must here be satisfied with enumerating the names of the several scholars who have devoted much of their time

and energy to these curious monuments of the most interesting period of Christianity.

We will briefly mention Baronius, the church historian who

THE CRYPT OF POPE CORNELIUS.

was the first to call attention to their significance. An enormous labor has been accomplished by Bosio, who laid the basis for all future work in his book entitled *Roma Sotterranea,* published in 1639. In 1651 Aringhi published a Latin translation of it, and in 1737 Bosio's plates were reedited and republished by Botteri. In 1770 Boldetti added to the contribution of his predecessors in his *Osservationi,* and other valuable material was brought to light in 1825 by Seroux d'Agincourt, a French art historian. Raoul Rochette presented a valuable synopsis of all that was so far known but not much that was new. A new period begins with the *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive,* by the Jesuit priest Marchi, who for the first time refutes some wrong ideas concerning the origin of the catacombs as mere sand-pits, and proves that they were dug for the purpose of serving as regular burial places. This more scientific treatment of the subject is continued by Comendatori and



THE MAGI BRINGING GIFTS.

Marble now preserved in the Lateran Museum. From Roller, *Les catacombes de Rome,* pl. LXVII.

Michele de Rossi, of whom the former had worked for some time in company with Father Marchi, and the brothers published their results in three large folios under almost the same title as Bosio's work *Roma sotterranea cristiana* in the years 1864-1867. An English translation of De Rossi's exceedingly valuable work has been made by Northcote, Oscott, and Brownlaw, and a German one by Prof. Franz Xaver Kraus (second edition 1897).

Most helpful for people interested in the fish-symbol of the catacombs is the long essay of J. B. Pitra, a French Benedictine monk (later on cardinal) who published his investigations in an essay entitled "IXΘYΣ sive de pisce allegorico et symbolico" in the third volume of an almost inaccessible periodical called *Spicilegium Solesmense,* pp. 449-543. It is followed in the same periodical by another article on the same subject by Giovanni Battista de Rossi under the title "De Christianis monumentis IXΘYN exhibentibus."

Among other less inaccessible publications that belong to this class we shall mention besides the valuable French work of Roller entitled *Les catacombes de Rome,* only two others, both written in German. One is the monograph by Ferdinand Becker on "The Representation of Jesus Christ under the Symbol of the Fish,"[2] and the other is by Dr. Hans Achelis on "The Symbol of the Fish and Fish Monuments in the Roman Catacombs".[3] Both recapitulate in a condensed form the labors of their predecessors and quote all the passages of Christian literature in Greek or Latin on the fish, Becker reproducing a great number of illustrations in zincographs.

So far the investigation of the catacombs had been a monopoly of Roman Catholic scholars and only recently have Protestants in-

MIRACLES SCULPTURED IN THE CATACOMBS.

Marble in the cemetery of St. Calixtus. From Roller, *op. cit.,* pl. XLVII, 2. Daniel and the lions; the miracle of Cana; the raising of Lazarus. Found on Mt. Vatican.

cidentally devoted themselves to the problem of their origin and character. Among these investigators we will mention Mommsen[4] who dispelled forever the idea that there was any secrecy about the origin of the catacombs and that they had been places of refuge during the time of the persecutions. It would not be impossible that occasionally some fugitive may have hidden in the catacombs, but that they were used for this purpose to any extent, or that they were meeting places of the early Christians concealed from the knowledge of pagans, is quite excluded, if for no other reason, because the narrowness of the tunnels and crypts and the bad air would make a long sojourn in the catacombs dangerous to health.

[2] *Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches.* Gera, Reesewitz, 1876.

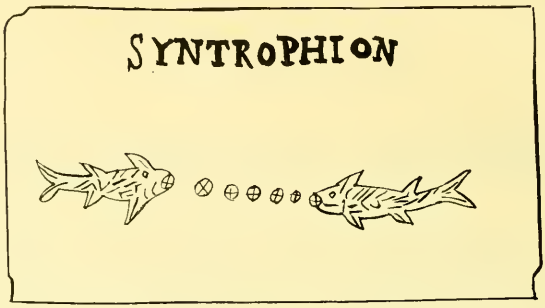
[3] *Das Symbol des Fisches und die Fischdenkmäler der römischen Katacomben.* Marburg, Elwert, 1888.

[4] See *Contemporary Review,* May, 1871.

CLODIO SAL....dVL
CIS · SI · MofIL
ME · SO · RVm xxxIi
IS · PI · RituS
IN · BOno

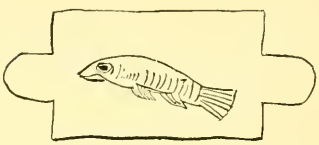
THE TWO DOLPHINS.

An inscription only preserved in fragments discovered in the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus by de Rossi.



THE TOMBSTONE OF SYNTROPHION.

Discovered in Modena in 1862. The epitaph contains the name of the deceased "Syntrophion" and below it two fishes are swallowing seven small loaves or wafers marked with a cross.



CEBHPA
ET XI
MEAITIN

EPITAPHS OF TWO CHILDREN.

The tomb of the former, by her parents called "Sweet Constant" was found in the cemetery of Priscilla and is reproduced by Bosio and again by de Rossi (No. 15) and Aringhi who regards it as pagan (*R. S.*, II, 288). The second marks the resting place of Cevera Melitina, a little girl of 11 years. The writing is in Greek and the age (*aetate* XI) is written between the two names. It was discovered in the cemetery of Hermes and is reproduced in Lupi's *Ep. Sev. M.*, p. 65 (de Rossi, 16).

CARAE COIVGI · BENE · MERENTI
POSVIT
QVAE ANNIS · VIXIT · MECV · XIIII
MESES · X · DIES · V

AN ANONYMOUS TOMB.

This epitaph reads "To his dear wife the well-deserving, he has erected it." There is some mistake in the years which we cannot undertake to correct.

While pagan tombs are also met with in the catacombs these burial grounds from the second to the fourth century were mainly used by Christians. It was, as Mommsen has pointed out, an era of prosperity under pagan rule, which began with the golden age of Roman civilization under Augustus and ended in the time of Constantine. At that time Rome was the center of the world; but after Christianity became the state religion the decay of Rome set in. The city was plundered successively by the Goths, the Lombards and the Vandals, and the seat of Government had been removed by Constantine to Constantinople. During this period of neglect Rome lost in prestige as well as in wealth, and its relative impotence in conjunction with its old glory made it possible for the papacy to develop. Under its guidance Rome succeeded in conquering the world a second time and regained its lost leadership by means of spiritual arms.

The significance of the catacombs lies in the spirit of the early Christians which is displayed in their symbols painted on the tombstones. Many thousands of graves are without inscriptions, others have epitaphs commemorating the names of the dead, and still others are marked with Christian symbols. In addition we have frescoes in the crypts. Considering the enormous extent of the catacombs, however, and notwithstanding the important lesson involved in these monuments, it is remarkable how small the yield is which the investigators here have discovered. The art displayed remains with very few exceptions, in even its best portions, mediocre, and the inscriptions exhibit an appalling lack of education, for wrong spelling is not at all uncommon.

The symbols are limited to the Christogram, AΩ, the swastika cross, the ship, bread, or seven baskets of bread, the anchor, the dove with an olive branch, and above all the fish.

Among the illustrations which decorate the walls of the crypts are, first of all and strange to say, the pagan deity Orpheus as a representative of immortality, then the Good Shepherd; further, the figure of an *orante*, the deceased in the attitude of prayer with raised hands, and a number of biblical subjects in general, the resurrection of Lazarus, the three men in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lions' den, Moses striking the rock, together with scenes that deal with fishes and with water, such as fishermen, the scene of baptism, and the stories of Jonah and Noah.

From the material published by scholars from Bosio down to modern times we select the most interesting examples, and from among them especially those which exhibit the symbol of the fish

as most characteristic of Christianity at that time. It cannot be our ambition to present in this collection anything new, because the field has been thoroughly covered by these Christian archeologists.

* * *

We will begin our enumeration with instances of fish-symbols which are not Christian. Becker refers to two pagan monuments

THE GOOD SHEPHERD DIVIDING THE SHEEP FROM THE GOATS.
Roller, pl. XLIII, 3.

at Rome which bear representations of fishes, but he does not hesitate to claim five other inscriptions as Christian because the word ΙΧΘΥΣ is inscribed on them, while our own conclusion leads us to the assumption that they belong to circles among the population

FOUR BIBLICAL SCENES ON A SARCOPHAGUS.
From Le Blant, *Sarcophages chrétiens*, pl. XVII, and p. 28 (1) Moses striking the rock; (2) adoration of Christ; (3) raising of Jairus's daughter; (4) Christ standing with right hand raised (incomplete).

of Rome where pagan and Christian views were mingled and where for safety's sake the efficacy of the symbols of both religions was resorted to.

A highly important monument is the sarcophagus which "Livia

Nicarus constructed to her sister Livia Primitiva who lived 24 years and 9 months." Bosio who first published a reproduction of this monument in his *R. S.* (p. 89) with his good knowledge of the character of inscriptions and monuments, suspected its Christian origin, and Aringhi (I, 321) adopted his arguments. After him Reinesius in his *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquarium* (1682), p. 785, No. 8, and also Raoul-Rochette in *Mémoire de l'acad. des inscript.*, (XIII, pp. 107-108, 224) declared the monument to be pagan and explained the Christian symbols under the inscription as later Christian additions. This however is excluded by the sameness of the incision which in both cases is not in relief but cut into the stone. Moreover it is not probable that the space should have

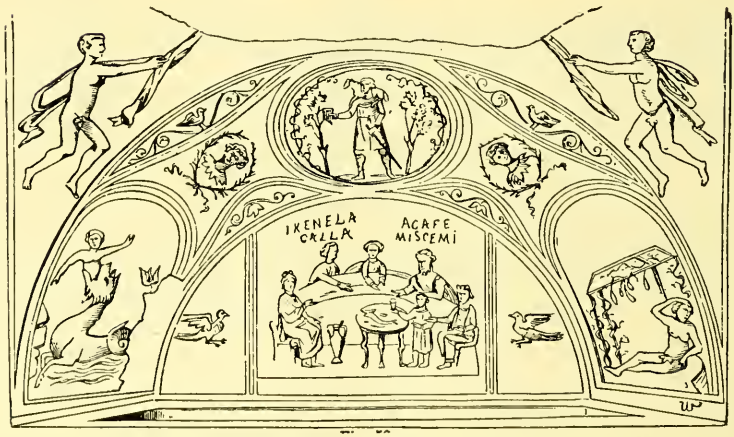
THE SARCOPHAGUS OF LIVIA PRIMITIVA
Found on Mt. Vatican.

been originally left blank. The inscription and symbols together fill the field so harmoniously that they must have been conceived at the same time. Victor Schultze (*Altchristliche Monumente*, p. 233) finds himself compelled to accept the pagan origin of both inscription and symbols, and in his argument he defends his view by the following considerations:

"It is well known that ancient art possessed a representation of a shepherd carrying a sheep in his arms, as well as Christian art. The graffito in question possesses two peculiarities which definitely prove that it is not Christian. On Christian monuments the shepherd either holds the sheep with both hands or he holds two legs (or all four) in one hand, or else the animal lies on his shoulder

without being held at all which in reality would be an impossibility. But on the sarcophagus of Livia Primitiva the shepherd is holding

THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF THE LATERAN.
Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, 227.



FRESCO SHOWING GOOD SHEPHERD AMONG OTHER CHRISTIAN SCENES.
In the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus.

the fore-legs of the sheep with his right hand while the left encircles the hind quarters of the animal, as is never seen in any of the innumerable representations of the Good Shepherd. It is likewise

without precedence in Christian art that the sheep standing around the shepherd should be distinctly indicated as rams.[5]. . . . Hence unless we recognize this to be an exceptional instance, we cannot escape the conclusion that the shepherd of the graffito on the Vatican sarcophagus is a pagan representation.

"This line of argument is decidedly confirmed by the difference in style easily recognizable to the less practiced eye between the

THE RAM-BEARING HERMES.
Fragment of an altar at Athens.

THE GANDHARA LAMB BEARER.

central group and the emblems at each side. The center group is elegantly drawn and is carefully and skilfully shaded as is not the case with a single early Christian graffito. But the fish and anchor have indefinite outlines and no shading at all; besides, one arm of the anchor is not correctly foreshortened, an error which probably cannot be ascribed to the construction of the central graffito. Then too the lines of the figures at the side are much more deeply incised

[5] In our outline reproduction this feature does not appear so plainly as in the original monument.

than those of the main picture and furnish a disturbing element in its tasteful arrangement.

"Under these circumstances we must regard the shepherd of the sarcophagus of Livia Primitiva as a pagan work and include it among the number of those pastoral scenes of which ancient sculpture and painting offer innumerable examples.

"The above lines had already been written when M. Berger, secretary of the Theological Faculty at Paris, undertook at my request to examine the sarcophagus with regard to this point. He made the following statement on the subject: 'Without daring to express an opinion on the great question as to whether the fish and the anchor are later than the Good Shepherd and the two rams, I will nevertheless observe that the anchor and fish appear less carefully drawn and incised; the anchor especially is out of drawing and is placed rather awkwardly behind one of the rams, therefore I would not be opposed to your hypothesis.'"

It does honor to Professor Schultze to notice the finer difference between the Good Shepherd and this presumably pagan prototype, but we would not rely upon it so much as Professor Schultze does. Nevertheless, it proves that this design must have been made before the typical attitude of the Christian Good Shepherd had been established.

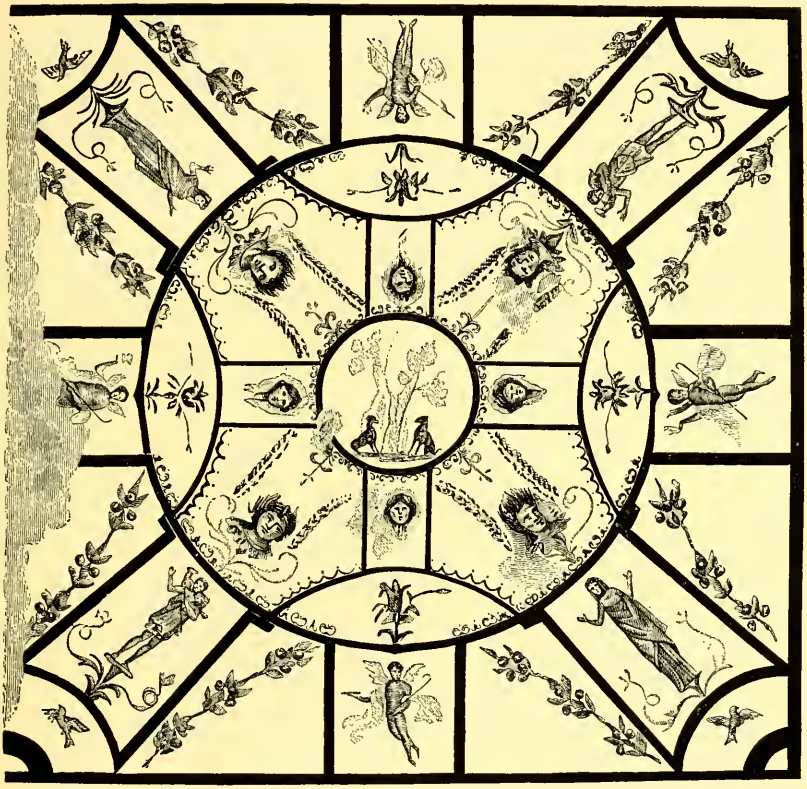
The difference between the style of anchor and fish from the rest of the monument is not convincing and we cannot see that the anchor is as incorrect as Professor Schultze assumes. In fact the foreshortening of one arm seems to add to the artistic effect.

We would here add that the symbol of the Good Shepherd appears even on Buddhist monuments at Gandhara whither it was carried by Greek sculptors, and even if fish and anchor would have to be regarded as being of the same style we see no reason why all the symbols should not be considered as pre-Christian, for anchors and fishes are not absent among pagan symbols, and the Good Shepherd ought to be really the main argument in favor of the Christian origin of this sarcophagus. If the Good Shepherd is proved to be pagan we would find no difficulty in accepting also the fish and the anchor as of the same workmanship. In fact we cannot discover any motive for adding these symbols for the purpose of making the monument appear Christian.

Whatever we may think of the monument it seems a striking evidence of the transition in the use of symbols from pagan to Christian times. We know from Clement of Alexandria (III) that the early Christians did not create new symbols but selected from

those that existed such traditional emblems as could find a Christian interpretation. Among those mentioned by Clement, and according to the context he presupposes them to be in use among the pagans, he especially mentions the anchor of the pagan king Seleucus and the fish.

The picture on the ceiling of Santa Lucina shows in the center a tree with two animals of doubtful nature, commonly supposed to



CEILING OF SANTA LUCINA.
After de Rossi.

be sheep. It is surrounded by ornamental heads, flowers, and birds, by Cupids and figures in the attitude of prayer. Considering the fact that this was the mode in which the ancients approached the gods and in which the souls of the dead were portrayed on their arrival at the throne of Proserpine, there is not one emblem on this monument of the catacombs that can be regarded as typically Christian.

The inscription "D. M." is an abbreviation for *diis manibus* and is a purely pagan invocation of the "gods of the dead," but Christians continued to use it because it was a traditional formula, which had best be respected. It is true it betrays a continuance of pagan thought but a close analysis of primitive Christianity will show that transition is everywhere the same. Even Constantine halted between both sides and was pleased to have the labarum serve as a pagan symbol by his pagan followers while the Christians saw in it the Christogram. But the "D. M." is used at least in one instance on an unequivocally Christian tombstone discovered by Visconti near Ostia, and dated by de Rossi according to the form of letters approximately in the beginning of the third century. It reads:

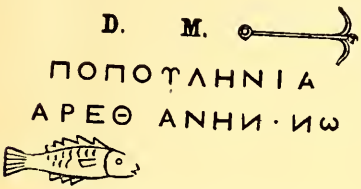
D. M.
M. ANNEO
PAULO. PETRO
M. ANNEUS PAULUS
FILIO. CARISSIMO.

The names, especially the combination of Peter and Paul, are an unequivocal evidence of the Christian character of the tomb.

FRAGMENT OF LICINIA'S TOMBSTONE.
Found on Mt. Vatican and now in the Kircher Museum.

Another tombstone marked "D. M." and bearing the inscription ΙΧΘΥΣ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ is claimed to be Christian, but the evidence seems insufficient. The wreath between the D and M rather indicates the Mithraistic faith, and we know too well that the pagans also believed in a "fish of the living." We should bear in mind at

the same time that the duplication of the fish finds no explanation in Christianity while we have seen that the double fish is found in India, in China and also in ancient Babylon, where the two fishes have been placed in the starry heavens as one of the constellations of the zodiac. The stone was dug out with other monuments on



EPITAPH OF POPOULENIA.

D M
POMPONIAE FORTVNV
LAE QVE DECESSET IN PACE
QVE VIXIT ANN. II. MEN. I. DIES XX

EPITAPH OF LITTLE POMPONIA.

Mt. Vatican in 1841 and is now preserved in the Kircher Museum at Rome. It is recognized, as expressly stated by Becker, that the form of the stone is unusual among Christian monuments and yet it is claimed as unquestionably Christian in spite of the D. M. because of the occurrence of the word ΙΧΘΥΣ. Victor Schultze deems "the fish of the living" a later addition by a Christian hand (*Arch. Stud.*, p. 229 ff.) But if the Christian character of this monument is to be questioned we have no positive assurance that the fish or the word ΙΧΘΥΣ by itself can be regarded as unequivocal Christian evidence.

D M

M·AVRELIO·ER
MAISCO
BENE MERENTI
(sic) QVEN OMNES SODALES
SVI QVERVNT

A PAGAN INSCRIPTION OF ROME.
After Cruter, *Inscript. ant.*, DCXLII.

DOLPHIN ON THE TRIDENT.
A pagan symbol in the cemetery of St. Calixtus.

For other inscriptions marked "D. M." we may mention one

in the cemetery of Helena found on the tomb of Popoulenia, a Greek woman whose Christian faith becomes probable by the fish added beneath her epitaph; and also that of little Pomponia in the cemetery of Praetextatus, which de Rossi dates in the third century (No. 20). She lived two years, one month and 20 days.

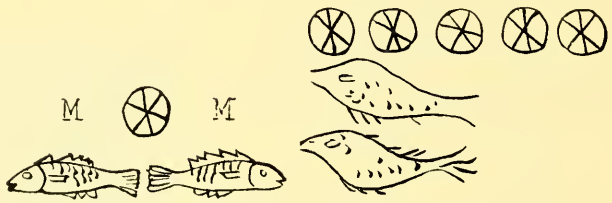
Another inscription whose pagan character is indicated by the "D. M." bears the inscription "To Marcus Aurelius Ermaiscus, the

DOLPHINS AND PEACOCKS.

Though this slab from the cemetery of Praetextatus is now kept in the "Hall of Christian Sarcophagi" in the Lateran Museum, its Christian origin is by no means assured.

well-deserving, whom his comrades mourn." The trident too is a pagan symbol and where it is found we may assume that the tomb is probably non-Christian. Another inscription including a trident is found in the cemetery of Nereus and Achilleus. (See the first illustration on page 213 in the April *Open Court.*)

After the middle of the fourth century the dedication "D. M." disappears, an indication that about this time paganism has en-



FISHES AND BREAD.

The former epitaph (discovered in Ravenna) bears below the fishes an inscription in which Valerius dedicates the tomb to his wife and his sister. The double "M" may be a substitution for the more usual "D. M." The second is from the cemetery of Hermes and shows five loaves and two fishes without any inscription.

tirely died out. With the spread of Christianity, especially under the rule of Constantine, the use of the fish-symbol on Christian tombs increases, but strange to say it disappears suddenly and there is only one after the year 400 which utilizes this symbol of Christ. Among fourteen hundred Christian inscriptions dated up to the seventh century there is none found later than that date.

There are occasional tombs that seem to be Jewish, or if not Jewish they indicate plainly that the lines of demarcation cannot be definitely drawn. Jews and Gentiles intermarried and used their sacred symbols interchangeably. Once or twice we find the seven-branched candlestick on Gentile epitaphs, and fish are sometimes scattered on Jewish tombs. A possible instance of a Jewish or Christian-Jewish tomb is that of Atokai the wife of Moses.

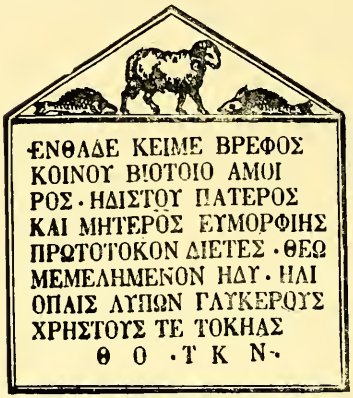
In the Jewish cemetery on the Via Appia there is an unequivocally Jewish tomb[6] which exhibits two groups, one of three and one of four fishes, so arranged that one of the fishes is placed upon a high basket while the others lie beside it on the floor. The fishes are surrounded by baskets filled with bread.

THE TOMB OF ATOKAI.
Possibly Jewish. (From de Rossi, pl. XXXIX-XL, 10.)

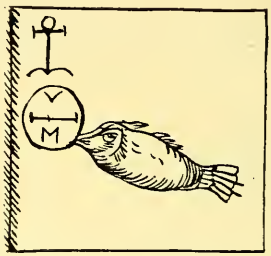
A tombstone now preserved in the Oberlin Museum at Strassburg, Germany, but discovered about two centuries ago in Rome where it existed in 1727 in the Via Giustiniana, published for the first time by Schöpflin in *Alsatia illustrata*, I, p. 601, bears an inscription which reads as follows: "Here lie I, a child not yet taking any part in the communal life, of the sweetest father and fairest mother the first born, two years old, beloved of God, Heliopais, leaving my good and sweet parents; a child of God." The name "Heliopais" means the child of Helios, the sun-god. In spite of this most pagan name the tombstone is classed as Christian on account of the ram and the two fishes. The original is written in

[6] Described without an illustration by Victor Schultze in his *Katacomben*, p. 121.

Greek verse but is partly spoiled by mistakes. The words here translated "Child of God"[7] are abbreviated in the last line.[8] The evidence will appeal to many, but considering the fact that the ram is not a lamb, and that we again have the fishes duplicated, and finally



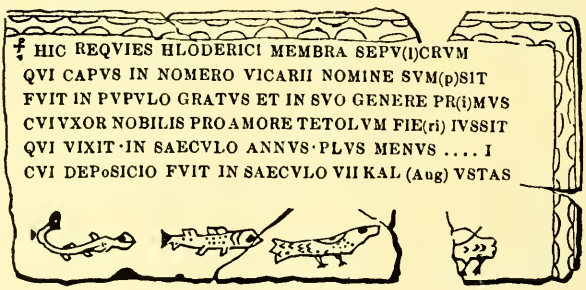
TOMBSTONE OF A CHILD.



TOMBSTONE OF A MATHEMATICIAN.

that the spirit of the verses is pagan and contains no reference to Christ, we must hesitate to accept the argument as conclusive.

Another slab marks the grave of a mathematician (as we believe) but scarcely a Christian. It is found in the cemetery of Nereus and Achilleus near the gate of San Sebastian and shows



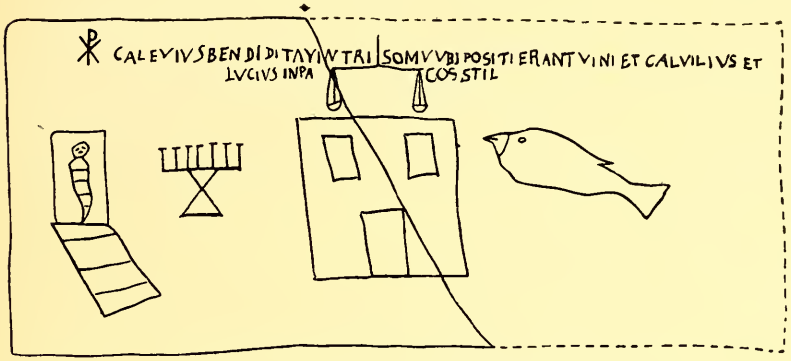
THE EPITAPH OF HLODERICUS.

three emblems, the fish, the solar disk and the anchor. The solar disk contains within it a line divided according to the golden cut so as to produce a proportion in which the smaller part of the line is to the larger as the larger is to the whole. The golden cut was regarded by the ancient mathematicians as an ideal norm analogous

[7] θεοῦ τέκνον. [8] ΘΟ ΤΚΝ.

to the golden rule in ethics. The symbol above the line of the golden cut is doubtful. It may mean a flying bird, perhaps a dove, or even an angle, or the letter V standing for *vives*. And again V and M may be the numbers 5 and 1000, or the initials of the person buried there.

A string of fishes is pictured on the tomb of Hlodericus, a vicar of the monastery of St. Maximus near Treves. It was discovered in 1818 and the inscription reads: "Here rest is given to the limbs of Hlodericus in the grave, who held the rank of vicar. He was a favorite among the people and in his tribe the first. His wife, of noble birth, for the sake of her love had this inscription made. He lived in his worldly time, years —. He was buried in the time of



A CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 400.

Found in the cemetery of Quartus and Quintus on the Via Latina. The inscription relates that "Calevius sold to Avinius a *trisomum* (a tomb for three bodies) which contains the two bodies of Calvilius and Lucius." The pictures of the fish, a house, a pair of balances, the seven-branched candlestick, and the tomb of Lazarus are extremely crude.

the seventh day before the Calends of August." The inscription must be old because the letters are scratched into the marble and the C is made of straight lines. The fishes and birds are of a very crude construction. Steiner ascribes this monument to the fifth century, Le Blant to the sixth or seventh, but Pitra places it as early as the fourth.

The pertinent suggestion has been made by Victor Schultze (*Katacomben,* p. 129) that a fish on a tomb sometimes indicates the former profession of the occupant; for instance "Amias" is the Greek name of a certain kind of fish, "Pelagia" means "belonging to the sea" and even "Maria" may be derived from *mare*. We here reproduce the epitaph of a certain "sweet daughter Pelagia, the

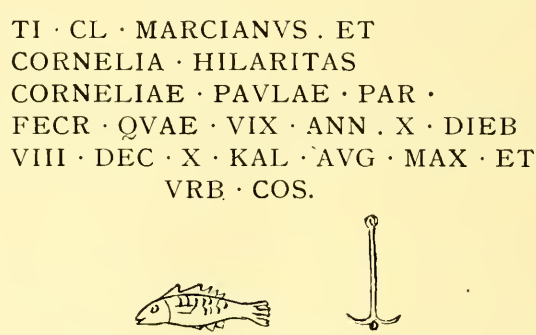
redeemed." The word *restitutae* indicates that the girl was a Christian, but the fish and anchors were probably selected as emblematic of her name.

Another fish and anchor that do not have this significance are found on the tomb dedicated "By Titus Claudius Marcianus and Cornelia Hilaritas to Cornelia Paula, who lived 10 years and 8 days." It is significant as showing that the fish was used as a Chris-

THE EPITAPH OF PELAGIA.

tian symbol in the year 234 which is given by the names of the consuls.

Clement of Alexandria advises Christians to have their seals ornamented either "by a dove, or a fish, or a ship scudding before the wind, or a musical lyre which Polycrates used, or a ship's anchor which Seleucus had engraved as a device; and if there be one fishing, he will remember the apostle, and the children drawn out of the water" (III, 11). If he had known of the fish as a



THE EPITAPH OF CORNELIA PAULA.

symbol of Christ he would have mentioned it in this passage, but he simply lets the fish pass as one of the allowable symbols which Christians should be permitted to use on their seals, and so we may fairly well assume that the idea of the fish as representing Christ was not known to him. In the circles where he lived the use of the fish on seals was not objectionable, but it has not as yet acquired that deeper meaning which it gained shortly before and under the

rule of Emperor Constantine. We here reproduce four seals of which the first is of chalcedony from the Royal Antiquarium of Berlin, (IX, 130). It bears the inscription IXYΘ for IXΘYΣ; the second is an onyx published by Münter (*Sinnbilder,* I, 23) and the third is a stone from Le Blant's collection. The reverse bears an

FOUR SEALS.

inscription in Greek which means, "Maria lived for many years." The fourth is preserved in the Royal Antiquarium of Berlin (IX, 129). It is of red jasper set in gold and shows an anchor and the word IXΘYΣ besides the initials of the owner, T. M.

The fish is inserted also on amulets, as for instance on a bronze

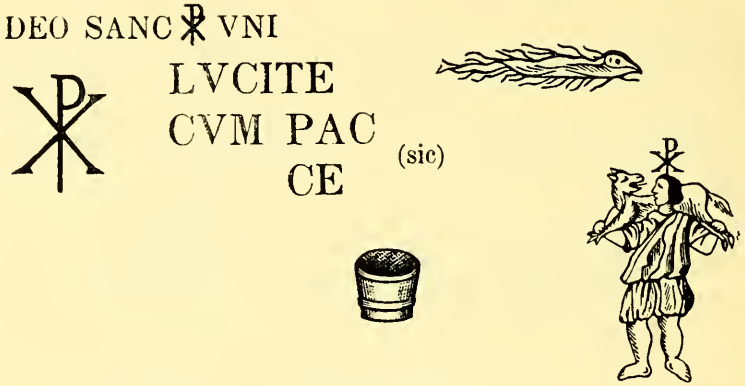
TWO AMULETS.

fish which bears a Greek inscription ΣOΣAIΣ, "Thou shalt save." Similar fish-amulets made of crystal, mother-of-pearl, ivory, and other less precious metals have frequently been found in tombs. The eight-sided sard bears an anchor and two fishes together with the name of Jesus, IEΣOY.

TWO GEMS.

A gem now preserved in the Vatican Library bears the inscription IXΘYΣ in which the X is marked as a Christogram. Another is a carnelian bearing on one side a fish and on the other the head of Christ. It belongs to the collection of Charles Forget and is published by Le Blant (I, 371).

It may appear strange to Christians of to-day that the catacombs contain no instance of the cross. Since the time of Constantine, or a little after, the Christian faith was marked by the Christogram, which as a pagan emblem was called the labarum. The greatest probability of the origin of the labarum seems to be the Gallic symbol of the sun and the world. The slanting cross represents the four quarters of the world and is crowned by a solar disk which changed into the Greek ρ. Since it was of Gallic origin the soldiers of Gaul used the symbol on their shields and helmets as a protective amulet. It is well known that Constantine used the sign before he was a Christian, but when he acknowledged his leanings towards Christianity the Christians were quick to recognize the appropriateness of the symbol, which according to the emperor's



TOMB OF LUCIUS THE COOPER.
After Navarro's *Filumena,* I, 283 (de Rossi, No. 44; Bosio, *R. S.,* 303.)

interpretation had assured his success in battle. The legend tells us that he saw the sign in a dream and learned that it would be conducive to victory. The same story is told in different ways by pagans and by Christians.[9]

The Christogram exists in several forms both as an upright and a horizontal cross, and its occurrence is quite frequent in the catacombs. One instance occurs on the tomb of Lucius. The Christian character of this monument cannot be doubted, for besides the repeated use of the Christogram and the Good Shepherd the inscription is essentially Christian in its formulation: "To the holy and one God, Christ. O Lucius, peace be with thee." The Latin of *tecum paccc* is of course an error, as it should be either *tecum pax,* or *cum pace.* The fish here portrayed is shaped like an

[9] For details see "The Chrisma and the Labarum," *Open Court,* XVI, 428.

eel and thickly covered with filaments. The wooden pail or tub seems to indicate that Lucius followed the cooper's trade. This tomb was found in a cemetery on the Via Latina.

Another tomb bearing the Christogram is that of Aemilia Cyriace. It was found in the garden of the mendicant monks at Rome. It is now lost but a copy made by Lupi is preserved in the Vatican. The mistakes in the inscription are easily corrected. The statement is made that Eucarpus, her father, and Secunda, her mother, have

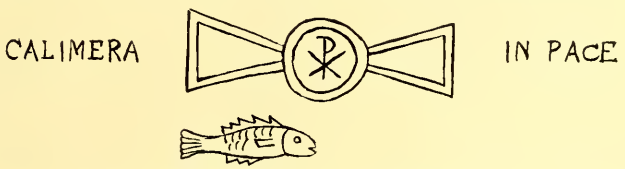
AEMILIA CYRIACE
(sic) DECESSIT DIE Y KAL
(sic) SCPI OYAE VIXIT
ANN XVI MENS VI
DIES VIII EVKARPVS
PATER ET SECVNDA MATER
FECERVNT BENEMERENTI

EPITAPH OF AEMILIA CYRIACE.

placed this tombstone to their little daughter Aemilia Cyriace, who lived 16 years, 6 months, and 8 days.

In the tombstone of Calimera the symbol of Christ's name is artistically framed in a conventional diagram and accompanied by a fish. It was found in the cemetery of Hermes.

The tomb of Pomponia is marked by a hammer as well as by the fish and Christogram, but this is not claimed as a symbol of



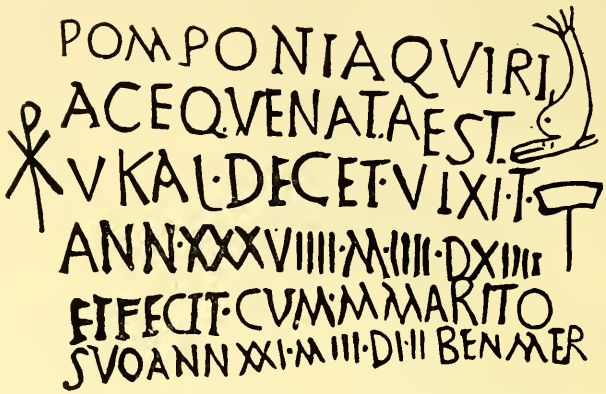
THE TOMBSTONE OF CALIMERA.
Lupi, *Ep. Scv. M.*, p. 53; de Rossi, 29.

martyrdom and admits of no explanation except that it bears some relation to the private affairs of the deceased.

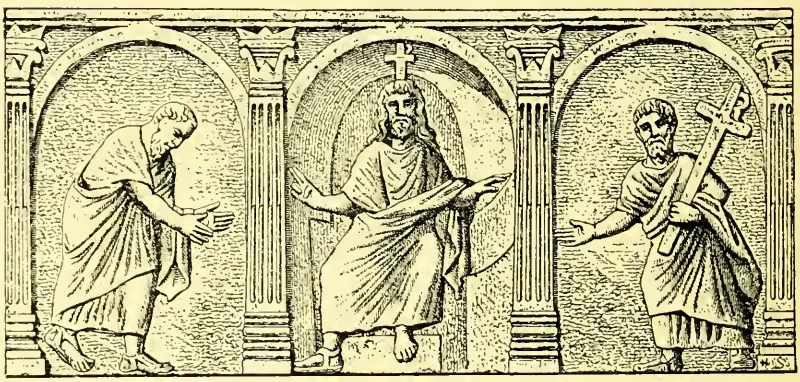
The Christogram is found also on an altar piece in the church of St. Trophinus at Arles.

An inscription belonging probably to the fifth century and found in Palazzolo, Sicily, reads in an English translation thus: "Here lies Marinna who lived honorably and without blame, and left this world to go to the Lord at the age of 37 years, paying her debt on December 24, but she loved God. Do not disturb my tomb and do

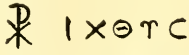
not expose me to the light. But if thou shouldst admit the light may God show thee the light of his wrath." The tomb is marked by a Christogram and a Greek IXΘYΣ, thus indicating the Christian



TOMBSTONE OF POMPONIA.
See Mommsen, *Inscrip. regni. Neap. Lat.*, 7185.



AN ALTAR-PIECE AT ARLES.
From Le Blant, p. 44.



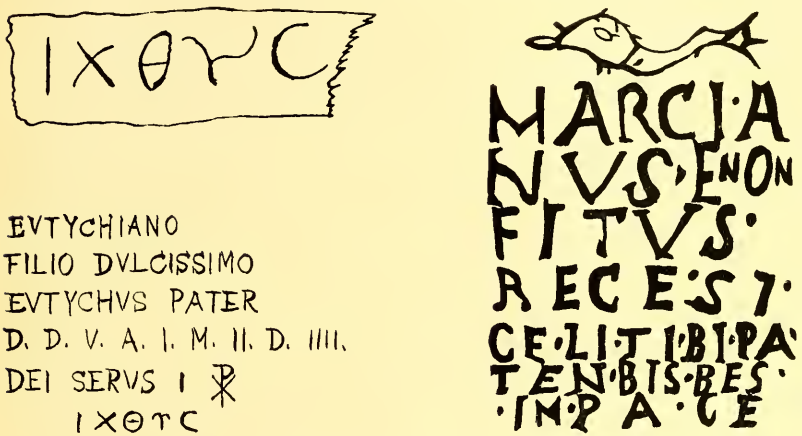
SYMBOL FROM THE TOMB OF MARINNA.

character of the inscription, although the curse at the end is a reminiscence of pagan times.

The word IXΘYΣ, shown on the next page, is painted in black without further information on the wall of the crypt of Cornelius, in the cemetery of St. Calixtus. It is probably not a tomb inscription

but an expression of the faith of a visitor. Underneath it in our illustration we read that "Eutychus the father, a servant of God, has dedicated this to Eutychianus his very sweet son, who lived 1 year, 2 months, 4 days." He marks his Christian faith by the Christogram and the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ. The fourth line is an abbreviation of *Dedicavit vixit annum unum menses duo dies quattuor.* The letter J before the Christogram may stand for Jesus. The third inscription in our illustrations is full of errors and means "Marcianus the neophyte has died. The heavens stand open to thee. Live in peace."

It will be noticed that together with the absence of the cross in all our illustrations from the catacombs we miss also any indication of martyrdom, and it seems that in the age during which the



THREE INSCRIPTIONS.

catacombs served as burial places, the life of a Christian was much more peaceful than is commonly assumed, and the fact has gradually been conceded that ancient martyrdom has to be considerably limited. First we have the strange fact that Christian persecutions took place under the very best emperors, not under the villains except the first persecution attributed to Nero, but the Tacitean report of this has with good reasons been doubted and can no longer be regarded as historical. Concerning the pictures preserved in the times of ancient Christianity, Victor Schultze says in his *Katakomben* (page 261): "As in the circle of early Christian pictures contemporary representations of martyrdom are missing, so the inscriptions (in the catacombs) are void of any indication which characterizes or even merely suggests martyrdom. The titles which

mention a martyrdom have either been added afterwards, as for instance the epitaph of Cornelius (mentioned by Schultze, page 256), or are falsifications of a later date." To the latter class which are easily identified belongs the inscription communicated by Aringhi

DECORATIVE DETAIL IN THE CATACOMBS.
After a colored reproduction in de Rossi's *Roma Sott.*

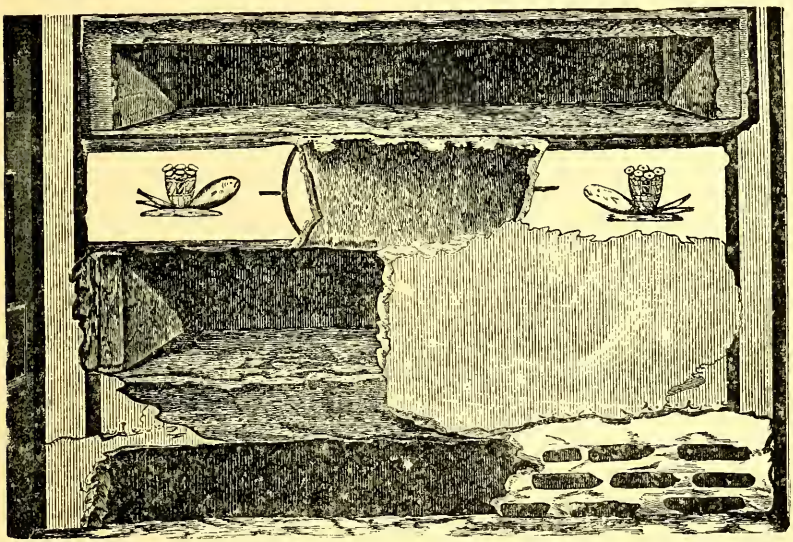
(I, 33) from the cemetery Ostrianum, 1643, and the comment that a "flask with his blood has been placed beside it." The inscription reads: "Primitius in peace, who after many anxieties lived as a courageous martyr 38 years. He made it for his sweetest and well-

deserving wife." In the middle of the inscription stands the Christogram surrounded by a double circle.

The catacombs contain not only inscriptions and symbols but also pictures. Most of them are crude, but there are some cemeteries which are ornamented with artistic paintings indicating that

ODYSSEUS PASSING THE SIRENS.

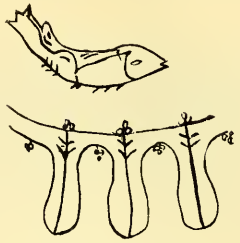
they were used by a wealthier class of people. This is especially true of the frescoes in the cemetery of St. Calixtus which is one of the most interesting portions of the catacombs. It contains frescoes representing Orpheus lyre in hand, Odysseus passing the Sirens, the demons of death, the story of Jonah in all its aspects,



THREE GRAVES IN ST. CALIXTUS.

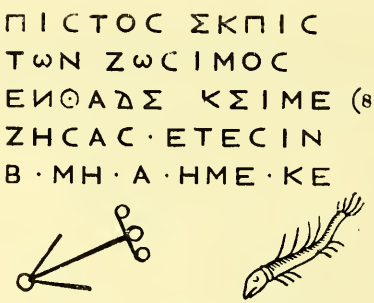
the raising of Lazarus, symbols of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. These last are found in a special crypt whose decoration is devoted to the subject of the sacraments. Besides many representations of eucharist scenes there are also groups of loaves and fishes suggestive of the sacred meal. Between two strata of

graves we find a fresco showing two fish swimming on the surface of the water and carrying baskets with five loaves. Within each basket is a red glass of wine. Again in other parts of the



FRAGMENT OF A TOMBSTONE IN MARBLE.
Now in the Musso Cristiano di S. Giov. in the Lateran at Rome.
A fish swims above flowerlike ornaments.

same cemetery the symbolic character of water is further represented by Moses striking the rock with his staff, and the fisherman pulling out the fish. On a trident a fish is twisted snake-like, and



THE EPITAPH OF ZOSIMOS.
The inscription reads: "I, a believer, [child] of believers, Zosimos, rest here, having lived 2 years, 1 month, 25 days."

on the ceiling we see the Good Shepherd surrounded by the incidents of the story of Jonah. We find here other crypts, the tombs of several Roman bishops, Anterus, Fabianus, Lucius, Eutuchianus and others.

THE EROICA SYMPHONY OF BEETHOVEN.[1]

BY BARON VON DER PFORDTEN.

BEETHOVEN'S Third Symphony in E-Flat, Op. 55, is called the Eroica, the Hero Symphony. The occasion of the origin and the name is exceptionally familiar to us. General Bernadotte was quite intimate with Beethoven during his stay in Vienna as French ambassador, and proposed that the composer "celebrate the greatest hero of the century in a piece of music." Most probably Bernadotte's admiration and enthusiasm for Napoleon was chiefly founded on his military achievements, but Beethoven, as we shall soon see, had a different conception, broader and deeper.

In May, 1804, the symphony was finished and was to be presented in Paris. The arrangement of the title page was especially characteristic, for at the top stood "Napoleon Bonaparte," and lower down, "Luigi van Beethoven." Aside from this there was nothing. No formula of homage nor flattering phrase, not even an ordinary dedication. Only the two great names with full acknowledgment of the equality of the ruler in the realm of sound with the mighty conqueror of men. Then Napoleon performed his *coup d'état* and was proclaimed emperor. This changed the situation.

A trustworthy witness tells us how the news affected Beethoven. He cried out in a passion of anger, "Is he nothing but an ordinary man like all the rest? Now he too will tread all the rights of man underfoot simply to further his own ambition. Now he will set himself above all the rest and be a tyrant!" Perhaps these are not Beethoven's exact words, but the sense at any rate is correctly given. In a rage he tore up the title page, threw it in shreds upon the ground and tramped it underfoot. Thus he castigated his disappointment. Thus he destroyed his own Napoleonic cult.

We may smile at Beethoven's naïveté. It seems almost past belief that Bonaparte could so be misjudged, so idealized. But

[1] Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

Beethoven was not the only one who permitted himself to be deceived and who revered the clever and ambitious Corsican as the benefactor of mankind. Many idealists thus believed in him and did not recognize the mask until he let it fall. Even in Germany the greatest benefits, liberty and true humanity, were expected from the French Revolution; and Bonaparte, its greatest son, appeared as its realization and perfection, as the prophet of the golden age. Thus he was not to Beethoven the triumphant warrior nor the superior politician but the embodiment of the ideal of noblest humanity, hence the hero of his soul. Therefore upon him he wrote the Eroica, not upon his person but his mission.

Now Beethoven's illusion was gone. Bonaparte and Beethoven no longer had anything in common. The proud, ambitious, self-seeking and violent conqueror is still a hero in history, and will so remain; but Beethoven's hero he could not be. This disillusionment was too complete. We can see perfectly that Beethoven did not understand Napoleon at all. He only thought that he saw in him his own ideal realized. The symphony on Bonaparte would not have shown us Napoleon as he was but as the representative of Beethoven's conception of heroism.

Now we can understand why he stamped upon the title page only and not on the whole work. Napoleon was lost to him; his supposed hero was destroyed but his ideal of heroism had not suffered. It still remained alive in Beethoven's inner consciousness in all its power and beauty, independent of a bodily representative. Therefore where originally "written to Bonaparte" had stood on the score, it was now called *Sinfonia eroica, composta per festiggiare il sovvenire di un grand uomo,* "The Eroica Symphony Composed to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man" (i. e., a hero). The hero was not named,—name and personality had nothing to do with it.

Beethoven had thought that he might venture to discover his hero in Napoleon. He could not now replace him by another on a day's notice. The hero of his ideal never appeared to him, the Eroica remained without an owner. Hans von Bülow in one of his famous concert-talks after a presentation which was especially inspiring, once called it the "Bismarck" symphony. There is nothing to be said against this; still there is no convincing reason to favor such a proposal. Each of us may dedicate the symphony to the great man whom he considers his hero, his ideal representative of the highest humanity. The symphony has nothing objective in it, nothing defined in so many words; neither the deeds of Napoleon

nor of Bismarck are described in it. It does not relate the story of any particular hero, but it proclaims the conception of a hero. It testifies to a heroism such as Beethoven himself lived and experienced. Whoever can live and feel such a heroism as Beethoven felt it, may lay claim to the symphony and may refer it to his favorite hero. The main question remains whether or not we shall be able to entirely appropriate all that is expressed in the work.

If I should now confess that it is not at all easy for me to rightly comprehend the Eroica, would I be criticized or pitied? Would I have no companions or only very timid ones? Is the character and intention of the work really so clearly obvious? If so, we would hardly expect to find such diverse interpretations as have been attempted. Misled by the title and by our historical information, the attempt has been made to assign to it a program throughout, which, if not Napoleonic, is still definitely objective. This leads to all sorts of difficulties of which I shall call attention to but one.

The second movement is called *Marcia funebre*, "Funeral March." This, it may be assumed, is intended to celebrate the death of the hero. Yes, but if the hero is dead, the affair must be ended. What then can be the meaning of the following movements? The funeral march ought naturally to conclude the symphony and not stand in the middle. Then refuge is taken in an artificial explanation that only one hero is dead and another arises who will carry on his work to its completion. Then, does the symphony have two heroes? Or it is explained that the hero is not dead, but there are heavy sacrifices to lament and these are celebrated here. Thus the funeral march would become a burial scene for the fallen, and the Scherzo following upon it must indicate a return to camp and bivouac. But all this is so far from convincing, is so farced and stilted, that it can not help confusing the inexperienced. The whole thing is the consequence of a fundamental error, made in trying to interpret from the symphony the life of a hero in its external sense. This is the reason why the reader must be warned against most interpretations on the basis of program music.

If any one positively requires guidance and wishes to lean upon a master who has understood Beethoven as few have, let him read Richard Wagner's explanation of the Eroica in the fifth volume of his collected prose and poetical works. There he will find an answer to prejudice and misunderstanding, and Beethoven's idea and conception of heroism set forth briefly and tersely while the emotional content of the individual phrases is indicated both simply and

impressively. There he will find the program of the symphony developed not in an objective sense but only in its spiritual significance. Now we shall proceed to see what we shall find in the symphony.

The first movement begins with a theme which will seem to us the less heroic according as we bring to it a more one-sided conception of heroism. I would not think ill of any one who declared that the first movement of the Symphony in C Minor is much more heroic in the popular sense. The first tones delight us with their freshness, clearness and energy; they breathe a vigorous joy of life and an uninterrupted impulse to action. There is little value in pointing out that Mozart's musical comedy "Bastien and Bastienne" displays the same sequence of tone. The similarity is purely external and therefore musically of no consequence; in that case the theme is pastoral, peacefully contemplative, while in this it contains the deepest spiritual quality.

It is well to observe how the theme changes from E Flat through D down to C Sharp, and in so doing passes from merry action to painful suffering; through the diminished seventh which is held through two measures it goes to the six-four chord of G Minor then back to the tonic. Hence it is from the very beginning a drama of emotion, pleasure and pain in most intimate connection, the whole man, the real Beethoven. Considerable space indeed is given to a lamentation, now elegiac, now pathetic; the second theme in B, in execution the E Minor melody, and the transition group mentioned above and distributed among the wooden wind instruments, contrast sharply with the energy which finally gains the upper hand. It is no doughty hero in coat of mail who pursues his end with inconsiderate selfishness, but an idealist in full power and self-consciousness to whom no human emotion is a stranger, no stirring of the soul unknown; it is the whole man as great in action as in suffering, as fine and noble in deeds as in sorrow—it is Beethoven himself.

Now the purpose of the symphony is clear; Beethoven is celebrating his own hero, he is proclaiming his own ideal of heroism, he is giving us himself. Accordingly its significance does not lie in the fact that it is the first to realize any program, but rather that it reveals freely and openly, outspoken and expressively as never before, the nature of its creator who for the first time speaks forth in it his own peculiar language.

One especially bold feature must not pass unnoticed. This is the famous passage directly before the repetition in the second part

of the movement. The orchestra has sunk to the softest *pianissimo*, finally it no longer breathes the complete dominant seventh, but rather only indicates it in the B and A flat tremolo of the two violins. To these tones which make us shudder there comes gently as from the remote distance, as out of another world, the first theme, E flat, G, E flat, B, sounded mysteriously by the horn. Then the full orchestra takes up for the first time the entire dominant seventh chord, and the transition is complete. Accordingly we have here an anticipation similar to that in the closing phrase of the Fifth Symphony only much more striking and poetical.

For a long time this was considered impossible; even Wagner inclined to the opinion that A flat should be corrected to G. Still this does not improve the passage, but makes it musically even more illogical. It can not be helped. We must accept this dramatic embarrassment as it is, even though it scorns all rules.

The second movement is one of the most affecting ever written. Here too the strings begin the theme which is then repeated by the horns. It is incredible and indescribable to what a degree of tragedy this melody can ascend. Involuntarily it reminds us of the piano Sonata in A Flat, Op. 26, whose second movement is known as *marcia funebre sulla morte d'un eroe* ("Funeral March at the Death of a Hero"), and has become famous. If the gloomy splendor of mourning and the passionate outcry of pain moves us in that case, here we have it to a greater extent. The terrors of eternity overshadow us, pictures of the night arise from the profoundest depths of the tragedy of the soul. It is not only a matter of life and death, but of hope and despair. But Beethoven does not leave us comfortless. In the midst of mourning he admits a gleam of triumph like a message from above, like a word of faith in the ideal which is immortal. Then the march is repeated; the Coda brings a new melody full of unspeakable devotion in a manner so affecting as only Beethoven knew how to sing; and then it is finished. The theme breaks and crumbles away before our eyes and ears and a prolonged hold places its seal upon it.

It will never be possible to comprehend the emotional character of this movement in words, but fancy is free. In fancy we may see tears fall, we may dig the grave, or hear the shovelfuls of earth roll upon it; but it is also possible for thoughts to keep far away from the grave and turn to other mental wounds and losses.

Our experience with the third movement, the Scherzo, is similar. Its cheerfulness is moderated; it flashes forth from an almost spectral energy, to which a definite significance can hardly be as-

signed. The Trio sets a particularly difficult task for the horns; it sounds like a flourish of trumpets, like a summons to ceaseless battle. The *alla breve* measures thrown into the repetition of the *Scherzo* again show Beethoven's extraordinary energetic power of composition.

The Finale starts off with a stormy *allegro molto* which arouses our expectation to the highest pitch. But then we stand surprised, if not astonished. Beethoven makes use of a theme which has already served him in the variations of Op. 35. It is not really a melody, it is only the harmonic undertones of a melody. What they have to do in this Hero Symphony we cannot see at first, but Beethoven makes it clear. The simple theme E flat, B, B, E flat, varied by a counter movement and continued in the reverse direction, prepares the ground for what is to follow. For now a melody is to be built upon it which not only contains the meaning of a second theme, but is devoted to unsuspected uses. First we have a *fugato* on the first theme; it runs on into a G Minor melody which breathes forth great rhythmical energy. Variations are also made on this theme. Finally the second theme becomes dominant; in the *poco andante* development it attains indescribable force of expression. The passage from the seventeenth measure of this broader tempo is splendid and reminds us at once of the "Fidelio." We experience a spiritual exaltation with which music had heretofore never been endowed: a *presto* of a wonderfully alluring swing completes the work. Hence the Finale building up quite from the beginning has in a measure reached the highest point. It leaves us in an exalted mood.

That is the Eroica. Who now thinks of Napoleon? Who asks for a program? I believe that we are entirely cured of every misconception. We no longer care to fathom what it all means. We are happy and thankful to be able to feel what we hear.

From this we may draw a lesson. We do not assign any special place to the Eroica because it bears a particular name and because we chance to know the motive of its external origin. The internal history of its origin and its value and significance do not differ from Beethoven's other works. For instance we could with equal right expect a special name for the Symphony in C Minor and might lay it to the account of chance that it never had one. It is related that Beethoven said with reference to the first theme, "Thus Fate knocks at the door." Why did he not call it the "Fate Symphony"? Because no external occasion suggested it and because intrinsically it was not necessary. If we do not feel what it says to us it is not

because there is no title or program to instruct us as to what we ought to feel.

On the other hand, the appreciation of the Third Symphony is made more difficult rather than assisted by the fact that it was called the Eroica and was originally written to Napoleon. If we bring definite ideas of heroism to it, it is a thousand to one that they will not correspond to what we are to hear. It is only when we give ourselves up to the work without preconceptions and without thinking of its name or history that we can possibly grasp its import, and especially must we be prepared to be in sympathy with it.

It is always the same. As long as we require an explanation and interpretation in words we are still far from understanding Beethoven's music. For this it is not at all important in what direction our power of imagination is directed or how far it is carried. Pictures and scenes may arise before our inner vision. This may occur while hearing the symphony or even in memory. It is possible also for this accompanying vision to be entirely lacking without detracting from the complete artistic performance. In this respect every person is differently constituted. Even the same person is not always disposed the same at different times.

Only we should always be honest, and it ought to be possible to establish proofs. Suppose one were to play the Eroica without giving its name to the audience and then ask all around, what would be gained by it? How many would be likely to say, "It is a Hero Symphony"? And is it likely that any one would declare that it must originally have been written to Napoleon? Certainly all would admit that it is a magnificently conceived work, whose immeasurable, spiriual content we would be able to assimilate only after repeated performances. That would be right. That would be the correct foundation upon which we could proceed to build farther. If a community of connoisseurs were to exchange opinions the result would not be essentially different. Perhaps a number of them would have visions to relate which they had experienced during a performance of the Eroica; perhaps the eyes of many would be shut from pure delight in hearing. But all would loudly testify that a great man and artist had spoken to them, and had exalted them to his own dramatic world of thought and emotion.

This is what the Eroica says to us, and it is equally true for all of Beethoven's works.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE OLD STATESMAN'S THOUGHTS[1].

BY WEI CHENG (A. D. 581-643).

[Wei Cheng was scarcely less eminent as a scholar than a soldier. After passing through the troublous times previous to and at the commencement of the T'ang Dynasty, he obtained high office as preceptor of the heir apparent and censor, and on his death received an honorary title. He is known as one of the Emperor T'ai Tsung's three mirrors, which were: copper as a mirror for the person, the past as a mirror for politics, and man as a mirror to guide the judgment in ordinary affairs. He was also the author of a much admired memorial to the Emperor setting forth "Ten Thoughts" for the correction of the disorders which had spread over the country at the time of the change of dynasty. The following lines are probably reminiscent of that period. Wei is not represented in either of the two favorite Chinese poetical compilations.]

What time the land was busy with the chase
'T was I alone foresaw the conflict near.
Though fallen our arguments on evil case,
The country's good remained my purpose clear.
One hope I saw:—to seek our Emperor Lord,
Urging my horse beyond the frontier pass.
Who else could bind the south as with a cord,
Or quell our eastern enemies in a mass?
And so, by crooked paths, I took the ascent.
Now rose, now sank the fertile plains below.
On withered trees I saw the birds lament,
And nightly heard the gibbons tell their woe.
A thousand *li* of earth I viewed with awe
From perilous passes on the mountain sheer.
To shrink from danger is our nature's law,
But in his heart the patriot knows no fear.
Twice made was ne'er a promise of Chi Pu,
And Hou Ying's word stood firm as first set down.
Touch, then, the heart: the actions answer true.
Tell me not of ambition and renown.

MR. KREBS'S DISCLOSURE OF PALLADINO'S TRICKS.

In reply to a question concerning Eusapia Palladino of recent notoriety, who left for Europe at the end of last summer enriched by a harvest of Amer-

[1] Translated by James Black.

ican dollars and a number of unexpected experiences, we wish to state that we did not enter into the problem of the genuineness of her phenomena, because her seances have been frequently discussed in other periodicals. The first exposure seems to have been made by Mr. Stanley L. Krebs whose statement appeared in the *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* for June and July, 1910. However, since the circulation and use of the English *Journal of the S. P. R.* is strictly limited to members of that society, Mr. Krebs's account has not become so generally known as it deserves.

Her phenomena as observed in America fall into seven classes: (1) levitations of a table, (2) rappings, (3) touches, (4) breezes, (5) lights, (6) materializations, (7) movements in and about the cabinet. The conclusions of Mr. Krebs are as follows:

"1. She uses no confederate.

"2. All the phenomena are produced in a space or area that is within reach of the arm and leg of the medium, still further lengthened by the use of a flower-stand as a 'reacher,' and a shoe edge as a fulcrum for levitations.

"3. Personally I do not believe Eusapia Palladino has any extraordinary psychic or telekinetic power. Her whole performance seems to me, on the basis of what I saw and felt, to be the deception of two senses, sight and touch, assisted by intentional suggestions.

"Instruments of precision from the scientific laboratory are not needed here. The problem, in my judgment, lies in quite a different and far simpler field—that of clever detection.

"From my experience of these two sittings, I would make the following suggestions to future investigators:

"1. The medium was always dressed in a black dress. If she were dressed in white her whereabouts and movements could easily be seen in the dark room. This would be the simplest test of all, and I therefore place it first.

"The cabinet was painted black on the inside. The table which 'John' moved so frequently was made of plain unpainted pine boards; why then had the cabinet to be painted, and painted black? The answer is simple, namely: to render the sleeves of her black dress unseen when she thrust her arm inside. And another thing may be explained by this black sleeve and black background, namely, that it isolates her hand for the sense of sight, so that sitters, seeing a pale white hand in the cabinet, will exclaim: 'I see a hand unattached; just a hand; no arm with it.' If she wore a white dress this illusion of sight could not take place.

"2. Another simple precaution would be to place the medium at the broad side of the table and have only one person in control of both her hands and both her feet at one and the same time.

"3. I would also suggest a square table, each side of which is at least three feet in length. This width would compel the 'controls' to sit so far apart that their feet could not be pressed simultaneously by only one foot of the medium; and she should then keep her hands on the table top in full view.

"4. Since she asks to be tied, her two ankles should be tied together with a slack of only four or five inches—not more—and her two wrists together with a similar slack.

"5. But if she will allow none of these test conditions, then I would advise the sitter who desires to verify my observations for himself to secure the place of left 'control,' since that appears to be the more active side. He will then

have more numerous opportunities of detecting the various movements here described."

We must remember that Mr. Krebs is not an unbeliever. He is well known as a lecturer in psychic research and believes in the possibility of telekinetic, telepathic, and kindred psychic phenomena. He would have hailed the opportunity to meet a genuine medium, but he failed to do so. He is an active member of both the English and American branches of the Society for Psychical Research, but being anxious to have psychic phenomena established as scientific facts, he has been a foe to fraud, and his critical ability is shown by his exposure of the Misses Bangs of Chicago, which appeared with an introductory note by Dr. Hodgson in the *Journal of the S. P. R.* (Jan. 1901, X, pp. 5-16). By profession he is a clergyman of the German Reformed Church, but he is also a graduate of the Chicago College of Psychology and has always taken particular interest in attempts to popularize the science. At present he holds the position of president of the American University of Trade and Commerce, founded in Philadelphia by John Wanamaker.

Soon after Mr. Krebs's exposure other investigation followed. Professor Münsterberg caught Palladino's foot in the attempt of accomplishing her miraculous feats in a purely mechanical way. Thereupon a formidable array of seven university professors, mainly of Columbia, trapped her by watching her operations with the assistance of two spies hidden under the chairs. Eusapia was in the best of spirits and confessed that conditions were favorable. The report of the seance reads as follows (*ibid.* 336):

"The evening proved rich in phenomena. The table rapped, rocked, tilted on two legs and on one, and left the floor completely. Under lowered lights (signaled for by five raps of the table) the curtains blew apart; a swelling appeared under the left curtain; the curtain was blown over the table; a tabouret emerged from the cabinet, was balanced for a moment, repeatedly advanced and retreated, and at last was lifted and deposited on the seance table; later a hand appeared against the cabinet over Eusapia's head; there were more bulgings of the curtain, more levitations; and then the seven raps of the table, indicating the close of the seance, followed by a violent outburst from Eusapia when the sitters continued to retain their positions. Such, with omission of all detail, was the seance. The phenomena were those most commonly associated with this 'medium.'"

The affidavits of all witnesses proved that every one of Eusapia's phenomena were accomplished by trickery and the explanations tally exactly with those given by Mr. Krebs. We may further mention a report by Professor Jastrow in the *American Review of Reviews,* which fully confirms these exposures and possesses the additional advantage of being illustrated. In spite of these reverses Madame Palladino has some loyal adherents, among whom we may mention Mr. Hereward Carrington.

It would be advisable not to take any further trouble to investigate mediums unless they agree to subject themselves to the conditions proposed by Mr. Krebs. They should have their cabinets painted white, not black. They ought to be dressed in white, and perform only in full light with the spectators all around, or if the spirits refuse to operate except in the dark the medium's robe should be saturated with luminous paint. But most of all, they should be expected to present real psychic or spiritual phenomena and reveal something that is worth knowing, not merely to rap tables, to materialize in shadowy forms, to produce unexpected touches and to show lights which can be imitated

by any phosphorescent substance. Moreover whenever they send messages, let them contain something worth knowing and give us some valuable information of a positive nature either concerning this world or the next.

We must confess that it is almost incredible that any one can still believe in the supernatural powers of a pretender whose fraud has become so apparent and unquestionable. It seems that a medium has simply to dupe some uncritical man of great scholarship or learning or fame. Uncritical he must be because otherwise he could not be easily deceived. But we must bear in mind that a man may be very learned and yet be lacking in common sense. Such was the famous Professor Zöllner. A man may be a good psychologist; such was Lombroso, and yet he could be induced to believe in Eusapia's powers. A man may be a great logician as is Professor Hyslop, and yet may believe in the genuineness of Mrs. Piper's trances and the importance of her spirit communications. A man may be a great astronomer like Flammarion, and yet may entertain fantastic views as to the nature of the soul.

THE ÆONIC NUMBER OF BABYLON.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches, LL. D., M. R. A. S., of London, considers "Some Mathematical Tablets of the British Museum" in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume,* and gives lengthy lists of the different fractional parts of 12,960,000, the "grand number" of the Babylonian æon, and the fourth power of their unit 60. This "grand æonic number," as Greek students will remember, was also that of Plato, who doubtless inherited it from Babylon. Dr. Pinches remarks that the scribe who had learned these tables by heart, possessed in them multiplication tables in the sexigesimal scale, and all things needed to make them accomplished arithmeticians. I fear, if this be true, that I am stupider than I thought I was; for, personally, if I were confined to such tables alone, I would be poorly equipped. But as sexigesimal tables they are quite interesting.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

TILES FROM THE PORCELAIN TOWER.. By *Edward Gilchrist.* Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1906. Pp. 90.

The writer has lived for many years in China and this little volume is a collection of translations and original poems on miscellaneous subjects.

The porcelain tower stood at Nanking and was counted as one of the wonders of the world. It was destroyed in 1853 in the T'ai Ping rebellion which was a national movement aiming to replace the present mongrel government by a Chinese dynasty whose name should be "Great Peace" or *T'ai Ping.* Strange to say these Great Peace people had embraced Christianity. It was a native Chinese Christianity, but nevertheless they believed in the Old and New Testament and besides God worshiped Jesus as their saviour and as their elder brother, the mediator between God and mankind. But with the Old Testament they had inherited a hatred of everything that was non-Christian and so they destroyed both Buddhist and Taoist temples, even refusing the customary honors to Confucius. In Nanking the porcelain tower fell as an object of their fanaticism. Mr. Gilchrist dedicates to its ruins the following sonnet:

"The tower is fallen: only brick and shard
Of rubble-heap show where it used to rise;
The earth with many a painted tile is starred
That flashed of yore the hue of sunset skies.
No more the bells make music from the eaves
That gently upward from each story curled;
No more the careless traveler believes
This was among the wonders of the world.
The thickets push above it and the weeds
Hide with rank blossoms the encaustic flowers
Of porcelain; the woolly tufted reeds
Nod drowsily through the long summer hours.
The tower is fallen: shattered is the clay
That was the pride and symbol of Cathay." K

Psychic Phenomena, Science and Immortality. By *Henry Frank*. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 543. Price, $2.25 net.

Henry Frank, speaker for the Metropolitan Independent Church of New York City, has added this new work to his many publications in the line of modern religion. It bears the sub-title "a further excursion into unseen realms beyond the point previously explored." In this statement the author refers to his former book *Modern Light on Immortality*. He belongs to that large movement which has been named "New Thought," and his book contains many thoughtful sayings. His belief in immortality is strongly founded on the conviction that absolute death is impossible, and this idea is tersely expressed on page 537 in the following argument: "Science challenges Nature to produce a void. She cannot. The Mind challenges Thought to produce a negative. It cannot. Every void is a plenum. Every denial is an affirmation." K

The University of Chicago Press has published an essay in the shape of a substantial book of 170 pages by F. C. Brown, on *Elkanah Settle*, the poet of the English Reformation, who sided first with the Whigs, and afterwards supported the cause of the Tories. The publication will be welcome to many students of literature because the poet's works have never been printed since his death, and he is now known almost exclusively through the attacks of Dryden and other enemies. Our author might have devoted more study to the psychology of Elkanah Settle so as to give us an insight into the motives which underlie the political convictions of the poet.

The book is well illustrated and is furnished with an excellent bibliography of 24 pages. K

It is with regret that we learn of the death of our contributor, Mr. James B. Smiley, which took place in Chicago about a month ago. The present number contains an article by him on "Idols and Fetiches," and our readers will remember former articles from his pen on similar anthropological subjects.

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A few copies of ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO, THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL, pp. 460+xxx, (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1906, price $4.00 net), are still to be had of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. and of the leading booksellers in Oxford at 12s. 6d. "He treats his subject thoroughly and exhaustively....deep and patient studies." J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsi Colaba, Bombay, in the *Parsi* of Bombay, 1900. —"A wealth of learning and thought." *Nation,* N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, by L. H. Mills, (published by the Open Court Pub. Co., 1908, 50 cents net). SAGGI DI LETTURE, TENUTE ALL' UNIVERSITA DI OXFORD, SULLA RELIGIONE DELL' AVESTA, dal Prof. Lorenzo Mills. Being sections of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, translated into Italian by an accomplished Italian man of letters upon his own initiative. Torino, 1909. To be had of G. Sacerdote, Turin, Italy. Pp. 75. Price, 2s.

The 31st volume of the *Sacred Books of the East,* the YASNA, VISPARAD, AFRINAGAN AND GAH, pp. 400+xlvii, 1887 (same Author) is still to be had at 12s. 6d.; as is the ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT OF THE YASNA, collotyped in an unsurpassed manner in the actual size and color of the original, 770 photographs with Introductory Note by L. H. Mills, Ten guineas. This is the main document of the above-mentioned works, —for the presence of the original of it in the Bodleian, Mr. Mills is responsible, 1889.

"Professor Mills's name stands foremost in the ranks of those who have explored the field of Avestic literature." The *Rast Goftar,* Bombay, April 18, 1909.—"Beyond question our leading authority now living, on the Gāthas." The *Nation,* N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.—(Mills (Earlier) of the Gāthas) Das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art—unser Verständniss der Gāthas mächtig gefördert. *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.* May 13, 1893. "Insbesondere von Mills, der diese schwierigen Gedichte in gründlichster Weise behandelt hat." *Preussisches Jahrbuch,* 1897, Prof. Justi (Lexicographer). "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation des Gāthas rendront hommage a l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills...son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'étude." Prof. James Darmesteter, *Revue Critique,* September 18, 1893.

"Alles was für die Erklärung der Gāthas nothwendig ist." (So also Dr. West in J.R.A.S.)—"Immer wird es die Grundlage bilden, auf der sich jede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss...einen hervorragenden Dienst." *Zeitschrift der deutschen M. G.,* 1896 (the late) R. Pischel (first Sanskritist of Germany).—A new edition has been inquired for, and a renewed Government subvention is expected from an antiquated engagement.

A few copies are still to be had upon exceptional request, and for libraries, at £3, of Brockhaus at Leipsic.

THE ROMANCE OF FIGURES

"In the current number of THE OPEN COURT [February, 1911], George Bruce Halsted, writing on the 'Foundation and Technic of Arithmetic,' presents briefly the wonderful story of the cipher. Men struggled through centuries of intelligence with cumbersome number notation. At first five men in a row to count 10,000: ten fingers raised by the first, one by the second; ten raised again by the first, and two by the second; ten raised by the second, then one by the third, and thus to one finger of the fifth man, equaling 10,000.

"Then the abacus with pebbles to represent the fingers and a row of grooves for the row of men. Centuries of intellect using the decimal system, but struggling with it because unable to comprehend the possibility of the cipher to indicate position in the row of men or in the grooves of the abacus; centuries of struggling with other symbols, adopting Hindoo numerals, but failing to find a character which would indicate 'nothing' — to indicate that a position was empty. 'A Hindoo genius' created zero. Hindoo numerals have been traced back to the early part of the third century B.C.

"'But,' writes Mr. Halsted 'a whole millennium was yet to pass before the creation of the most useful symbol in the world, the naught, the zero, a sign for nothing, a mark for the absence of quantity, the cipher whose first known use in a document is in 738 A.D. This little ellipse, picture for airy nothing, is an indispensable cornerstone of modern civilization. It is an Ariel lending magic powers of computation, promoting our kindergarten babies at once to an equality with Cæsar, Plato, or Paul in matters arithmetical. This giving to airy nothing not merely a local habitation and a name, but a picture, a symbol, is characteristic of the Hindoo race whence it sprang. It is like coining Nirvana into dynamos.'

"The Arabs, taking the symbol, called it cifr — 'empty.'

"Our moderns are making romance out of arithmetic." — *Chicago Tribune* (Feb. 9, 1911).

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